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THE Nation

VOLUME 146 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 2, 1938 NUMBER 14

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The Shape of Things

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THE TROOPS OF THE FASCIST POWERS ARE still plowing ahead toward the sea and Barcelona, meeting no effective resistance; and every correspondent emphasizes the amount and magnificent quality of Franco's German and Italian equipment. The ultimate hope of stopping the fascist drive lies outside the control of the Loyalist forces. On another page Louis Fischer describes the almost unbelievable calm and courage of the people of Barcelona and the army. But he points out that valor alone will not win against tanks and bombs and rainstorms of shrapnel. If outside help is denied Spain, fascist victory cannot be long delayed. The conquest of Spain would make Germany in effect a Mediterranean power and move the German frontier to the Pyrenees. Together Italy and Germany would dominate Gibraltar. But still France and Britain remain immobilized—France through fear of war and internal conflict, Britain through a blind refusal to face the consequences of fascist victory. Just now it seems possible that French labor may forcibly encourage Blum to take a stiffer attitude toward the Senate and the right in general. Some 30,000 metal workers are on strike, and more strikes are threatened to back labor's demand for quick action to help Spain. But Italy notified France, with calm effrontery, that any direct aid to the Loyalists would mean a European war, and Britain has delayed action on the withdrawal of foreign troops until Chamberlain could feel certain that the fascist cause and his conversations with Mussolini would not suffer.

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IF NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S DECLARATION of foreign policy was less objectionable than had been anticipated, it was because a vital portion of it was concealed in a typical London fog. The Prime Minister refused to make any commitment on Czechoslovakia, but he was careful to avoid the implication that he would not fight under any circumstances. On the even more crucial issue of Spain his statement was deliberately less ambiguous. In insisting that the non-intervention policy would be maintained despite known violations, he virtually handed a blank check to Mussolini and Hitler. Meanwhile Chamberlain is trying to undermine the growing opposition to his foreign policy by offering substantial concessions to the trade unions in the munitions industries. By appeal-

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ing directly to the unions he hopes to get increased production in the munitions plants and undercut the Labor Party's growing opposition to his arms program and foreign policy. However, the joint statement of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress is an indication that a Chamberlain government cannot count upon labor cooperation. Even the trade-union lines within the Labor Party have lately stiffened. The party unfortunately lacks dramatic parliamentary leadership such as it once had in MacDonald and Snowden. But it has seasoned and realistic minds on its executive council. And considering what happened to the dramatic leaders in 1931, it is conceivable that labor may pay too high a price for political theater.

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ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND TELEGRAMS CAN be wrong. So Father Coughlin and Frank Gannett found this week when, despite the intense effort to kill the government-reorganization bill through anti-New Deal literature distributed at enormous expense and through Father Coughlin's broadcasts, the Senate refused to recommit the bill and finally passed it. Although a new fight in the House must be expected, the measure in its present form should meet less opposition than it did in the Senate, especially since the House has already adopted part of the reorganization plan in three measures of its own. We print elsewhere in this section an editorial on the necessity of an effective organization of the executive power. It is significant that with the exception of Senator Wheeler none of the liberals who opposed the court plan were to be found against this bill. The Republicans used the same tactics that worked so well before, of thrusting the Democrats forward and themselves staying in the background, the same tactics of mass pressure through telegrams whose passage to Washington is a long runway well smeared with money. But this time the tactics didn't work. Paul Y. Anderson, in his Washington dispatch in this issue, supplies some concrete details in answer to the usually nebulous question of how the big corporations' lobby money is used. The Minton committee investigation must go on. A democracy must have light on how the democratic procedure of counting noses can be corrupted, and how a financial oligarchy may, if we are not watchful, twist democracy to destroy democracy.

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WHO WON THE COURT FIGHT, ANYWAY? That is the question the tories are now asking themselves. They defeated the President's court-reorganization bill, but in the process the court itself got such a fright that it has become more liberal in its decisions than it has been since the days of Taney and Andrew Jackson. The nation has been waiting for the decision in the Electric Bond and Share case as the most important of the 1937-38 term. As handed down this week it is a complete victory for the government. It holds that the act's registration provisions (sections 4a and 5) are separable from the rest of the act and are valid. It brings to a successful conclusion the first stage of the struggle to get public-utility holding companies under control. It will be remembered that practically every important utility refused to register with the SEC as required under the holding-company act. As it became evident recently that the decision would go against the companies, and that the penalties for failure to register and the other penalties in the bill would be upheld, there was a rush to get under the wire before the decision came down. The only dissenter from the decision was Justice McReynolds, who did not even take the trouble to indicate his reasons. Even Justice Butler voted with the majority. The decision marks the high-water mark of the new wave of court liberalism. Credit for it should go to the brilliant briefs and argument of Robert H. Jackson, Benjamin V. Cohen, and Thomas G. Corcoran. Now that the question of registration is settled, the real fight for simplifying corporate structures can begin.

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IT IS NOT CHARITY THAT MR. HULL AND Mr. Roosevelt are proposing in their appeal for international action to rescue German and Austrian refugees. They are reaffirming dramatically America's traditional role as an asylum for the politically oppressed. Their statements command wholehearted support; we only regret that they do not go farther in seeking to ease a desperate situation. The United States is one of the few countries with the resources to absorb considerable numbers of refugees. Unfortunately, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull obviously do not intend to open our doors any wider than they are at present. It is true that a substantial increase in immigration from Germany and Austria is possible under the quota restrictions if private organizations can guarantee support for the refugees. But the 27,000 which can be admitted from these countries in a year is insignificant compared to the need. In order to assume a fair share of the burden, the United States would have to admit several times this number. Passage of the bill introduced by Representative Celler granting full right of asylum to political and religious refugees is the necessary first step. The next step—providing money to bring the refugees here and to help them until they become self-supporting in their new home—should be relatively easy. Individuals and organizations will give in ample amounts as soon as a refuge is assured the suffering thousands of Europe.

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SECRETARY HULL'S ASSERTION THAT THE President cannot revoke the Spanish embargo must be taken as a warning that the Administration plans no such action, but it appears to have no legal or moral justification. As Raymond Leslie Buell, president of the Foreign Policy Association, pointed out in reply to Mr. Hull, the Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, superseded the embargo resolution of January 8, 1937. The President found it necessary to issue a special proclamation reimposing the embargo after the passage of the act. Thus, the immediate basis for the embargo against the Spanish government is a Presidential proclamation which, as we pointed out last week, may be revoked at the discretion of the

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President. On moral grounds Mr. Hull's position is no longer defended by even the most ardent advocates of the general Neutrality Act. In a recent address at the New York Town Hall Senator Nye, who more than any one man is responsible for the new "neutrality" policy, agreed that its application to Spain clearly favored the rebels. Failure to extend the embargo to Germany and Italy renders the whole policy farcical. And how does Mr. Hull know that the bombs used at Barcelona could not have been of American origin? An Associated Press story from Philadelphia, dated January 11, quoted Dichman, Wright, and Pugh, Inc., shipping agents, to the effect that a cargo of 200 aerial bombs would be shipped from a New Jersey dock on a German steamship, and "would be reshipped in Germany." On March 8 the United Press reported that the German freighter Kellerwald had sailed for Bremen with a cargo of 20,000 American-made bombs loaded under a State Department permit and consigned to an undisclosed destination. Can Secretary Hull guarantee that a shipment loaded on a German ship will not terminate in Spain?

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BY SUDDENLY SUSPENDING PURCHASES OF Mexican silver the Administration has applied economic coercion to Mexico to make it modify its oil policy or at least to assure a generous compensation. The Treasury's triple threat is to throw the Mexican budget out of balance, force devaluation of the peso, and bring about a consequent economic crisis. Mexico will now be compelled to sell its silver on surfeited world markets, and in anticipation of this the price of silver in the London open market has declined to the lowest point since January 15. The 13 per cent of the government's revenue which comes directly from mining will be curtailed, and if the American mining companies reduce pay rolls, the flow of dollar exchange into the Mexican banking system will decline. Since the peso is tied to silver and a large part of the central bank reserve behind it is silver bullion, the decline in silver prices will pull the peso with it and reduce Mexico's capacity to import accordingly. Naturally the value of the metallic coverage of the currency will also shrink. When in the middle of March the peso was permitted to float, the customary flight from the currency began and the central bank was obliged to pay out 15,000,000 silver pesos in return for paper notes. By forcing exchange control and inflation on Mexico, the Treasury is playing with the fire of a Mexican economic crisis which may have as its aftermath a rebellion of reactionary generals and closer commercial relations with the fascist powers.

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THAT MANY AMERICAN PEACE GROUPS ARE moving toward a collective-security policy was very much in evidence at the Conference on World Economic Cooperation sponsored by the National Peace Conference. The delegates refused to delete the section of the experts' report which emphasized present-day political insecurity and urged revision of the Neutrality Act to distinguish between aggressors and their victims, although the isolationists had leveled their heaviest artillery against those recommendations. But the conference retreated when it came to the problems arising from aggression. Efforts to bring the Spanish crisis before the meeting were frustrated. The success of the consumer boycott in weakening Japanese aggression in China was ignored except for a minority report. An effort by the labor round table to have economic assistance limited to non-aggressor states failed, largely as a result of Frederick J. Libby's determined opposition. Throughout the conference the isolationists opposed forthright statements on pressing issues on the ground that unity in the peace movement is more important than decisions on policy. This tactic has proved all but fatal to the movement. The peace societies remain incapable of agreement on a program of immediate action; they have been sidetracked to a plan of "economic cooperation" wholly unattainable in a world in which the bases of all law are being challenged.

Japan Faces a New China

MILITARY, political, and economic reports from the Far East offer a welcome contrast to recent European news. For there is every indication that the Japanese offensive has become mired in the vastness of China, and that the guerrilla tactics of the Chinese are bearing fruit. Within the past month, the Japanese have launched four great drives in succession, each a little less successful than the previous one. They first attempted to push north from Nanking to Hsüchow. But Chinese flank attacks forced them to retreat after they had come within striking distance of the strategic railway center. They then launched an attack down the Peiping-Hankow railway at Chengchow, only to have the Eighth Route Army cut their line of communications south of Paoting. In an attempt to strike at the base of operations of the former Communist troops, the Japanese drove into southwestern Shansi and even crossed the Yellow River into Shensi. But as suddenly as they had advanced, they retreated—presumably because of constant pressure on their lines of communication.

In the middle of March the Japanese staged their fourth great offensive, an attempt to take Hsüchow by a mass attack from the north. After an exceptionally severe battle, the invaders drove within twenty miles of the railway junction, only to be set back by powerful counter-attacks on both flanks. Although the Japanese are within striking distance of Hsüchow, the Chinese have seized the offensive in this area. Farther west the Chinese have tenaciously held their lines along the Yellow River and successfully resisted all attempts of the enemy to gain a foothold on the south bank.

Meanwhile, the Japanese have had their hands more than full with guerrilla attacks behind the lines, in both northern and central China. In Hopei, supposedly conquered by the Japanese last August, it is reported that the Eighth Route Army has assisted in establishing a

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Chinese state of seven million inhabitants. Although these stories may be somewhat exaggerated, independent information from neutral sources indicates that Japanese control over this area is most tenuous. Letters from Paoting, 200 miles behind the front line, tell of severe fighting in the shadow of the city walls. A Chinese attack on the Tienstin-Pukow railway has also been reported only a few miles north of Nanking. Guerrilla activity continues even in the Shanghai area.

The contrast between Chinese military efficiency today and the wholesale disorganization which existed in the early months of the war is striking. In the beginning the Chinese were wholly passive on the northern front. Not once did they make use of their superior numbers to strike at the Japanese flanks. Guerrilla tactics were utilized only by the Eighth Route Army, and it was purposely confined to a relatively small area in northern Shansi. Owing to the lack of a general staff almost no coordination existed between the various provincial armies. Factional differences within the government and suspicion of the Communists prevented the sort of cooperation necessary to build up effective resistance. It is now clear that the fall of Nanking marked a turning-point as far as these internal difficulties were concerned. The frightful massacres which occurred at Soochow, Wusih, Hangchow, and Nanking—in which tens of thousands of civilians were killed in cold blood and other thousands mutilated beyond recognition—appear to have ended all thought of surrender and obliterated factional differences.

Few observers believe that the Chinese can cling to their present positions along the Lunghai railway indefinitely. But even a decisive victory on this front will not win the war for Japan. If China can continue its guerrilla tactics, it has an excellent chance of wearing Japan down. Japan is suffering from gradual economic attrition. The most recent *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics,* published by the League of Nations, shows that despite a growing need for war material of all kinds Japan's imports for January were 30 per cent less than in the corresponding month a year ago. Exports were down about 12 per cent, and there was an adverse balance of trade of 37 million yen. Commenting on these figures, the *Japan Chronicle* attributes the drop in exports primarily to the boycott, which it admits is worldwide. No figures have been released since August on Japan's gold reserves, but it is known that Tokyo's gold shipments to the United States alone from March to December totaled some 845 million yen, which is greater than the entire reserves remaining in August. As a further indication of the strain imposed by the war, the volume of notes in circulation has increased, wholesale prices have advanced 9 per cent in the face of a general decline elsewhere, and the cost of living has risen more than 10 per cent in the past year. In contrast to the general inflationary trend, stock-market prices have declined since the start of the war.

If Japan's growing economic difficulties have reduced popular enthusiasm for the war, no such news has passed the censor. It is true that opposition developed to the government's national-mobilization bill, but this opposition melted away when it became clear that strong measures of control were essential to carrying on the war. The economic restraints placed upon Japan by the boycott are not of a sort calculated to create disaffection within Japan. They strike not so much at Japan's internal economy as at its ability to obtain the materials necessary for carrying on the war. Two facts are clear: there has been a sharp decline in Japan's military efficiency in recent weeks; and there has been a drastic reduction in Japan's purchases of strategic raw materials as a result of the boycott. It is only reasonable to believe that there is some connection between the two facts. If this is the case, China may yet win the war—provided that the boycott can be maintained and extended.

Freedom and the Executive

EVER since the court battle Administration and anti-Administration forces have been maneuvering and counter-maneuvering to get into position for another major engagement. Now they seem to have joined battle. The wage-hour bill, the monopoly issue, the anti-lynching fracas, the tax struggle were all obviously preliminaries. Some Administration enemies hoped to make something big out of the government-reorganization bill itself, but as we pointed out several weeks ago it was too impersonal an issue to assume the proportions of a crusade. But the TVA struggle has what it takes. It has drama, it has dynamite, it has the clash of personalities. The nation may look forward for the next few months to some peppery fighting, which will, in turn, be the curtain-raiser to the battle of the Congressional elections.

It is interesting to see how a number of seemingly independent questions are shaping up into one. Issues in Washington have a way of converging, fusing, and exploding. The reorganization fight seemed as good as over until it met the TVA fight, but it was given temporary life and meaning by the supposed example of the President's tyranny toward Chairman Morgan of the TVA. Shall we, ask Senators Byrd and Wheeler, expose the whole executive department to the mercies of the dictator? The old slumbering feud of the Morgan and Lilienthal adherents has now broken out into the open. The quarrel between the public utilities and the Administration, which has been going on underground ever since the Public Utility Holding Company Act was passed, is again intensified. And the old fight about the power of a Congressional investigating committee to ask for records in general—a fight that created considerable heat when Senator Black headed the investigation of public-utility lobbying—is being fought all over again.

The decisive question that all these subsidiary struggles pose is the extent of governmental power in dealing with its basic objectives. Just now the phase of governmental power under attack is that of the executive. Yet we must not see the issue wholly in those terms. The

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persons who are bitterly attacking the President because he is presumably seeking to take from Congress its investigatory power over the TVA are also bitterly attacking Senator Minton, the chairman of the committee investigating the utility lobbies, for exceeding the investigatory powers of a Congressional committee. No doubt the orators in the House and Senate will present the big issue as one between the President and Congress. It is not. There seem to be changing fashions in the fight against New Deal tyranny. Yesterday it was supposed to threaten the judiciary, and therefore minority rights. The day before yesterday, in the "first New Deal," it was supposed to threaten the proper Congressional delegation of power, and therefore majority will. Today, it is supposed to be threatening the administrative commissions, and therefore both administrative independence and Congressional control.

The well-meaning liberals, like Senator Wheeler, Dorothy Thompson, and Walter Lippmann, who have enlisted in this protracted crusade to save the nation from the President, are under the impression that they are fighting in general for minority liberties and against fascist tendencies in government. If we believed that this was the issue we would join them in their crusade. We have no doubt that as theorists for the anti-New Deal forces, they see themselves as defenders of liberty. But those whose actions they rationalize—the public utilities, big industrialists, anti-union employers, banking and brokerage houses, big newspaper publishers—are not fighting for minority rights but only for their own hitherto unchallenged minority economic rule. Nor is it only the President's power they oppose and seek to limit. When the power of Congress to deal with economic issues was truncated by Supreme Court decisions, they did not lift a voice against the court. When the country returned a New Deal President and a Democratic Congress by a huge margin, they cried out against majority rule. When such administrative agencies as the SEC and the TVA and the NLRB sought to enforce Congressional acts, they attacked and sabotaged them at every turn, refusing to register as holding companies with the SEC, tying the TVA up in a tangle of court injunctions, attacking the NLRB for a bias that was fantastically fabricated. They are intent on fighting not only executive power but any and every phase of governmental power, concentrating on whatever phase threatens at the time to be most effective, and playing each off against the others.

We do not wish to defend the extension of executive power as such. We have fought against judicial supremacy and for Congressional power to legislate on national economic problems; we have favored broad investigatory powers for Congressional committees; we have asserted that the democratic future depends upon responsible but effective majority rule; and now we stand with the President in his reorganization fight and with the President and the majority directors in the TVA struggle. What we are insisting upon is effective governmental power, whether through Congress in its legislative and investigatory functions, through the quasi-judicial or wholly administrative commissions, or through the President himself. Without such effective power democracy will have little chance of survival in a period of economic collapse. Those are the real issues in the TVA as in the government-reorganization dispute; the rest are sham battles. The issue Dr. Morgan raised in his refusal to support before Mr. Roosevelt his charges against his fellow-commissioners was one of administrative responsibility, and on that basis the President had the moral right and perhaps the legal power to oust him. Every newspaper editor and columnist has converted himself into an amateur constitutional lawyer, and is quoting Supreme Court precedent against Solicitor General Jackson's opinion on the legal issues involved. Especially is the Humphrey decision cited. But even a casual acquaintance with the judicial process should make it clear that the Humphrey decision was based on the fact that the Federal Trade Commission is a quasi-judicial agency, which the TVA assuredly is not.

We have said that we are interested in the efficient execution of the majority will. We are also interested in the preservation of liberties, both those of the minority and those of the majority. Nothing will be gained by cramping the effectiveness of our government. The threat of ultimate fascism in America is a real one. But if fascism comes, it will not come from the attempt of a duly elected government, whether New Deal or anti-New Deal, to tackle the economic problem. It will come from the collapse of governmental power in the face of an insurmountable economic crisis. We live in a complex society, in which industrial power is highly centralized and in which only an immense administrative and legislative effort can hope to keep us from economic and social chaos. In Italy and Germany it was the paralysis of the parliamentary process and the collapse of the executive power that produced the condition out of which fascism emerged. The same may happen here. Unless we can keep our government flexible enough and powerful enough to carry through the immense tasks of control and socialization of industry that lie ahead, we face the certainty that anti-democratic groups will take those tasks out of our hands. And if that happens, both majority will and minority rights will be crushed by the ruthless minorities of capitalist reaction.

Let it be noted, however, that neither side, in its concentration on the question of freedom and tyranny, is meeting an issue that lies beyond that of governmental power—the issue of an economic program. The anti-New Dealers, whether by accident or design, have turned away from the issue of Mr. Roosevelt's failure to deal adequately with the current depression. And the President himself, no doubt with relief, has allowed the country to be deflected from the economic to the political. We favor whatever will make governmental power in a democracy effective. But that power has no meaning unless it is used to carry out a rational and planned program to increase employment and raise the national income. In government, as elsewhere, one must deal with means and ends together. The Administration will have achieved an empty victory if it forgets the economic and social ends in its concentration on forging and maintaining adequate political means.

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Barcelona Holds Out

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Barcelona, March 28

I HAD only to enter the outskirts of Barcelona to become calm and reassured. It was like coming into Madrid in the old days when its fate seemed still to hang in the balance: the moment one saw the faces of the people and the aspect of the streets one knew the capital was safe.

The other evening a well-known American novelist, a staunch friend of the Loyalists, telephoned from Paris to ask whether he should come to Spain immediately so as to be there before the end or whether he could stay abroad another week to do some work. This is the impression one might easily gather on the outside. But such a calculation omits the resistance and the untapped reserves of the Spanish people as well as Franco's shortage of infantry. It is not a matter of days or of a few weeks. This week a bus service to Madrid is being inaugurated. Talented soldiers are matriculating in the officers' training school. The new UGT-CNT alliance is taking steps to speed up armament production. Youths, stirred as never before by the despicable bombings of Barcelona and the Italian-Moorish Aragon offensive, are volunteering in masses for the army. Already there are enough for three divisions. Hundreds of building workers are going out to the front to construct another defense line. It begins to feel like Madrid in November, 1936.

A prominent Catalan said to me recently, "We go from here to the cemetery." The Catalans have been aroused. The first effect of the air raids was panic. Women with children refused for forty-eight hours to leave the subway. A hundred thousand citizens moved into the surrounding hills. Workers failed to report at their benches. But the excitement soon died down. Now nobody looks up into the blue and sunny skies. Resentment, bitterness, and hate are dominant. A fine Spanish woman said to me, "Down at Calle Catalanas, where the bombs fell into two apartment houses, I walked through pools of human blood and had to step warily lest I step on an arm, a torso, or a baby's leg." After such an experience one's outlook on life and one's evaluation of one's own life changes. Under my window at this moment thousands of Barcelonans are leisurely promenading, coatless and hatless, the men with their hands behind their backs, couples laughing, a father and mother wheeling a perambulator. Their demeanor spells confidence.

The vast majority of these folk have in some way taken sides with the government. They or members of their families are fighting at the front, or serving the government, or helping to operate state factories, or are active in the trade unions, peasant cooperatives, political parties, and so on. They know that thousands of their kind will be butchered by Franco when he occupies Loyalist territory. If the rest of the Spanish republic succumbs, there will be no escape. Only a few could get away to France. It is nobler to die fighting than before a firing squad, and the Spaniard cares a great deal about nobility and about style. The idea is not merely to kill the bull. The thrust that kills must be clean and graceful.

Moreover, the true revolutionist and anti-fascist never gives up the struggle. Spain is part of a war against the universal enemy of humanity. (A woman in an apartment across the courtyard has just commenced a voice-culture lesson and she is now disturbing me with her coloratura tra-la-las.) The battle shifts and assumes new forms but it never ends. The purpose is to undermine and harass the foe, to continue the attack, now with guns, now with speeches, boycotts, food collections, or by addressing envelopes. There will be no surrender. At a dire moment, when a few timorous souls weakened in their purpose, Communists and Anarchists, joined spontaneously by armed assault guards and police, paraded in thousands to support Negrin's intransigence. The compromise mood thereupon quickly disappeared.

Nevertheless, the situation remains critical. On some days the republican troops fight like heroes; on others they run like hares. At the worst period, at Alcaniz and Caspe, many officers fled, and the political commissars, because of their recently reduced prerogatives, did not possess sufficient prestige and authority to stem the rout. Trade-union party leaders rushed to the front to reestablish the morale, which on other occasions proved high. Much could be achieved by more efficient organization, greater cohesion within the federal coalition, more and better leaders, and the fullest exploitation of those available and ready to serve. Democratic methods persist to invigorate but often to hamper the prosecution of the war. The nonchalance and poise of the Spaniard in a crisis are an asset not unmixed with injury. He tolerates intolerable obstacles because it is not yet 11:45 by his watch. Life here is too normal. There is too little fever.

Perfect organization and impeccable military guidance, however, could never compensate for the rebels' overwhelming superiority in aircraft and artillery. No troops will stand firm indefinitely when a hundred giant airplanes bomb them without respite and cannon rain shells into their trenches. The Loyalists cannot dispute the fascists' domination of the air or silence their guns. The government air force is outnumbered eight to one. Twelve Loyalist pursuit planes went out two days ago to machine-gun a Moorish cavalry column. They did their work well until 110 enemy planes swooped down on them. Six little Chatos were shot down.

During the last month the Italians and Germans have

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sent the most modern equipment to Spain. Their planes and cannon smash trenches and fortifications; then the Africans and Italians march in. Franco has 100,000 Italians (60,000 regular-army soldiers and 40,000 Black Shirts), 60,000 Moors, and 50,000 Spaniards on whom he can rely. This is insufficient infantry for a war on the present scale. The government's army is much larger and has plenty of rifles and machine-guns, 30 per cent of which are produced at home. If Barcelona could purchase artillery and two hundred planes abroad. the war could not be lost within another year. It might—depending on international developments—be won. Two hundred planes can make all the difference between a fascist and a democratic Spain, between an encircled and a protected France, between a menaced and a secure position in the western Mediterranean for the British Empire, between a threatened and a safe Czechoslovakia, between an encouraged and a checked international fascism, between a black and a brighter Europe. But in the whole of the democratic world there are not two hundred airplanes for a cash buyer who wishes to safeguard his hearth and home and national territory against invasion! In the case of America it is a stupid law which robs the Spanish government of the wherewithal to defend itself; in the case of England it is blindness; in the case of France it is cowardice. But it is not yet too late to mend the situation. The spirit here has not been broken even though the line has been, in numerous places. Military men tell me that the Italian-German force cannot reach the coast without surmounting tremendous difficulties. Between Fraga, which was yesterday evacuated by harried civilians, and Lerida is flat country where bombings from undisputed skies will give the fascist pilots much pleasure; but Barcelona will still be in no mortal danger even if Franco resumes his air raids after the effect of the loud world protest against this atrocity has worn off. The Spaniards are prepared to submit to further undernourishment, nervous strain, and slaughter on the chance that the foreign countries will wake up and realize that the international war being fought on Spanish soil is as much their concern as it is Spain's. Without foreign help the cause is desperate. The parallel with Madrid is apt but as yet incomplete. Then the International Brigade and material from the Soviet government helped the Spaniards to restore their equilibrium. Much larger quantities of material are required today.

Let Gannett Explain

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 28

AS A general rule a man has the right to spend his own money to feed his own vanity, but there is such a thing as abusing the privilege. Frank E. Gannett, who publishes newspapers in New York State and makes speeches wherever two or more persons show a tendency to listen, has become something more than a public nuisance. Realizing that I risk the charge of taking him too seriously, I hasten to point out that a horsefly is capable of causing a runaway unless swatted in time.

In this instance the swatter is in the hands of the Senate Lobby Committee, and the sooner it does its duty with respect to Gannett the more comfortable all of us will be. This might result in depriving the Rochester and Miami Beach luncheon clubs of what may or may not pass as a frequent treat, but the mail-receiving public could be relied on to bear up with Christian fortitude if not complete indifference. The principal sufferer would be Dr. Edward A. Rumely, but he should be inured to suffering.

Gannett is "chairman" of the "National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government," one of those organizations which originate in the checkbooks of men who crave distinction for something besides their wealth, and Rumely performs his complicated functions as the committee's "executive secretary," earning a salary of $300 a week. Rumely's record is worth recalling. In 1915, it will be recalled, he purchased control of the New York *Evening Mail* under circumstances that were both interesting and mysterious. Subsequently he was convicted of having conspired to defraud the United States by making false statements to the Alien Property Custodian for the purpose of concealing the fact that the money which purchased the *Mail* came from Dr. Heinrich Albert, fiscal agent for the imperial German government. The conviction was upheld on appeal, and Rumely served thirty days before an act of executive clemency freed him.

Several days ago the Senate Lobby Committee, stirred by a tidal wave of propaganda in which the pending government-reorganization bill was described as a devilish plot by Roosevelt to make himself dictator of the United States and its territorial possessions, issued a subpoena requiring Rumely to appear and produce all papers in his possession relating to efforts "to influence or suppress federal legislation." This resulted in the immediate disclosure that Rumely, on behalf of the Gannett "committee," had sent out 800,000 packets of literature urging the recipients to write or wire their Congressmen to oppose the bill and soliciting funds with which to send out more. About $50,000 had been expended in this precious enterprise. More interesting, however, was the additional disclosure that more than $200,000 had been similarly disbursed last year in raising the wind against the court plan, in the course of

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which Rumely had supervised the dissemination of more than 16,000,000 pieces of literature.

Thus far the Lobby Committee got before the inquiry was halted by Rumely's refusal to produce copies of correspondence between himself and Gannett relating to their efforts to influence Congress. Acting on advice of his counsel, who happened to be Elisha Hanson, counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Rumely based his refusal on the contention that the subpoena was too vague. Thereupon Chairman Minton issued another, which was very definite indeed, giving the dates of the letters sought. Again Rumely refused, declaring he would not produce them until the Lobby Committee gave the names of the addressor and the addressee and a description of the contents. Hanson supported him in an argument in which he said, in substance, that his client didn't know which letters the committee was talking about, and besides, the committee wouldn't know Rumely had them if its investigator hadn't peeked. In my opinion Rumely and Gannett know only too well which letters the committee was talking about. But just in case they don't, I make this free suggestion: let them search their files for a letter from Gannett to Rumely, written last May or June, alluding to the manner in which routine newspaper accounts of the court fight were colored in various ways, all calculated to prejudice readers against the bill. Unless I am misinformed, they can easily identify the letter by an allusion to the Associated Press, of which Gannett is a director, and to the effective use which was made of the phrase—"the court-packing scheme." In fairness to the A. P. I hasten to add that I never saw that phrase in any of its dispatches and greatly doubt that it ever appeared under the A. P. date line unless written in by editors of individual newspapers. Of its widespread use, however, every reader can testify. In any case, it seems to be strictly up to Gannett to explain. As for Rumely's refusal to answer, the courts should deal with it. Harry Sinclair and Old Doc Townsend can enlighten him concerning the procedure.

How to Keep Out of War

First Peace-Poll Returns

AT NOON of March 28 a total of 1,328 ballots in *The Nation's* peace poll had been returned. This represents a small fraction indeed of the voters to be heard from, but we report the result to give an advance indication of which way the wind blows. It should be borne in mind, however, that all these ballots come from *Nation* readers and are therefore weighted in favor of the magazine's collective-security policy. With our next issue we shall begin reporting on the vote of the bulk of our readers and on that of the 130,000 non-readers who received ballots.

Of the 1,328 votes recorded, 1,144 favor "a policy of cooperation with other nations in defense of peace" as the "better insurance against war for this country"; 184 vote for isolation. As to the precise kind of collective action, 922 votes go for "economic measures directed against the offending power," 867 for "economic support for the victims of aggression," and 640 for the "threat of collective armed resistance to aggression," many of the voters of course choosing more than one method. Of the isolationists, 108 would go beyond the Neutrality Act and "stop all trade with belligerents, withdraw all aid from American citizens in countries at war, and refuse to consult with other nations on ways to avoid or end further conflict."

The failure of the major democratic powers effectively to oppose international fascist aggression has weakened the belief of 148, now voting in the isolationist camp, in the possibility of collective action, while 27 apparently had no such belief to begin with. Of the collective-security advocates, 315 confess to a weakened belief, while 790 are unshaken. Both isolationists and collective-security voters overwhelmingly favor a voluntary popular boycott on goods from aggressor nations, the vote in the first camp being 133 to 36, and in the latter 1,030 to 79.

In addition to the mass opinion to be gleaned from the ballots, we have asked a number of outstanding liberals for their individual attitudes on American foreign policy. We have particularly invited those whose views on this subject have not been widely publicized, and are pleased to print eight of them herewith. Others will follow next week.—EDITORS THE NATION.

GEORGE W. NORRIS

United States Senator from Nebraska

I am deeply interested in the situation of our nation regarding peace. Indeed, I am deeply interested in the peace of the world because I believe our peace to a great extent depends upon the peace of the rest of the world. Heretofore I have been opposed to the policy of our government in building up a large navy and making other preparations for war. To some extent I have changed my views on that question because of the attitude of some of the great powers. The world is now confronted with the sentiment which obtains in Italy, Germany, and Japan that it is their right to take another country simply because they desire to. The only reason they have not attacked other nations is because many of these other nations have armies and other means of defending themselves.

I would not be in favor of our government's taking a hand as a participant in these wars in Europe and Asia. The sacrifices which would have to be made by us would not, it seems to me, justify us in sending another army across the sea, but I do believe the people of our country would be justified in boycotting every one of these nations. This would

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be action taken not by the government but by the people. No complaint can be made if we, as a people, refuse to buy Japan's goods. I should not be opposed to our government's participating in a conference with other nations that are opposed to such unjustifiable and inhuman conduct as that of Italy, Germany, and Japan, but I would not be in favor of any conference by which we would be bound to engage in war in Europe or in Asia.

As to the question whether our Neutrality Act ought to be amended or repealed, that will depend in my opinion upon conditions which may arise in the future. I can see that a condition of affairs might arise under which I would be in favor of modifying our Neutrality Act. My feeling on this point is influenced by the fact that I do not have absolute confidence in all the nations now struggling to maintain the peace of the world.

We went into the World War under the influence of a propaganda which was false in many particulars and by which our country and our people were deceived. It is too soon after that war, I think, for us to have forgotten those promises and those inducements. I can readily see, however, that if the policies of Hitler or Mussolini or Japan are carried to their logical conclusion, the civilized world will ultimately have to contend against the barbarous conduct they have inaugurated.

If this principle were to be carried out, the aggressor countries, after taking all the unarmed nations of the world, could then undertake the conquest of the nations which are armed, beginning of course with those which are armed the least. I have felt, therefore, that I should modify my position somewhat on the question of a large navy. But I think the plan now proposed in America contemplates an armament unreasonably large and unnecessary. There is another reason, also, why I think we should hesitate to spend too much of the taxpayers' money on building warships. It is a disputed question now whether the battleship is really the great instrument of warfare which it has been heretofore, and the airplane and bombing machine are contending with it for supremacy. We might find ourselves with a large navy which to some extent at least was useless.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Editor of the Emporia Gazette

Last autumn I was an isolationist with reservations. Then I began to feel like cuddling up to some kind of collective security. But recently collective security, with Great Britain tying up with Hitler and polyfoxing with Mussolini about Spain, gives me the shivers.

My considered judgment about the foreign policy of the United States is that it can only be adequately solved by a transcontinental earthquake plus an oceanic inundation. I am sorry I cannot seriously and intelligently answer your letter.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Author of "The Flivver King"

I do not believe that a modern city can exist without a police force to repress crime or without courts to enforce contracts. No more do I believe that the modern world can exist without agencies of order and justice. We have tried and the results are before us. Gangster nations have broken loose and declared their intention to seize what they want.

For America to imagine that it can stand aloof in this crisis is as if Brooklyn should retire behind the East River and refuse to concern itself with anarchy existing in New York. To exactly the extent that Brooklyn kept order and prosperity, it would become the object of the desires of the New York gangsters, and would have to arm to protect itself.

If democracy is to survive this crisis, the democratic nations must organize at once and declare their intention to enforce law and order throughout civilization. Gangster nations planning raids must know not merely that they will be boycotted completely, but that if this does not suffice, an international army and navy will overthrow their dictators, hold a plebiscite, and established a new government by popular consent.

Such plans can be carried out only by the labor and liberal forces of each nation, and it is to the awakening of these forces that our propaganda must now be directed.

In the circumstances existing, this program means a call to all men of good-will to stop fascism. In my opinion it will not mean war. It will mean organization, education, and a firm demand on the gangster states. The people of those states want peace and order as much as the rest of us, and will not fight long against a program of international justice.

THOMAS WOLFE

Author of "Of Time and the River"

Aside from the question whether peace is worth any price that we can pay or that can be demanded of us—a view which was seriously held by many people until a year or two ago—I do not think that peace can ever be won or kept in such a way. I further think that "isolation" is a rhetorical concept, useful to politicians for the purpose of strengthening their majorities at home and of reassuring their constituencies. Beyond this, I do not believe "isolation" has any real meaning, because it has no existence in reality.

Because I believe in individual security, I believe in collective security, and do not think it is possible to have one without the other. And in the light of the events of the past two years it seems manifest that the only way to get security is through collective action. And although I hope, together with most other people, that the necessity for force may be avoided, it cannot be avoided by denying that such a necessity may exist. It becomes increasingly apparent that the only effective way to meet armed aggression may be armed resistance: the wheels of a great war machine, such as that which Germany has today, are not going to be stopped, once they have begun to roll, by a handful of reproving phrases or by a batch of diplomatic protests. If anyone ever furnished the world with a blueprint of his intentions in advance, it was Adolf Hitler. Now, since he has checked his announced objectives off the list one by one with the precision of a riveting machine, it seems reasonable to suppose that he will contine to do so as long as he is unimpeded and as long as he realizes that there is no formidable and united force that will, if necessary, resist him.

I do not know what form that force will take, or what will be the composition and alignment of its elements, because at the present moment it does not exist; but it is evident that if fascism is to be checked, such a force will have to exist. The failure of the major democratic powers thus far effectively to oppose the aggressions of Germany, Italy, and Japan has not weakened my belief in the possibility of collective action and has not destroyed my faith in the power of the major democratic powers to act effectively. Sooner or later, it seems to me, they will have to. They will have to when they decide that democracy is worth fighting for, if need be, by those who believe in it. In the end, I think we may all have to make that decision. For fascism is a creature that thrives but is not appeased by compromise.

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R. L. DUFFUS

Staff Writer on the New York Times

I believe that the issue between freedom and slavery must be fought out on a worldwide front. I do not believe that this country is or will be in danger of physical invasion. I do believe that it is in danger of invasion by destructive ideas. If human slavery, under any name, prevails in the rest of the civilized world, it will sooner or later prevail here.

I believe that the American liberal should and must join forces with the liberals of other countries. He must act through voluntary associations, if necessary, but I do not believe he will be effective in the end unless he acts through his own government. He cannot be successful even then unless other governments, specifically those of France and Great Britain, become or remain liberal. I do not believe that he can or should effect a compromise with the present government of Soviet Russia.

I believe that economic pressure against aggressive powers and economic aid to peoples unjustly attacked are weapons we must use, if only because they are preferable to war. The present Neutrality Act certainly needs amending in order to permit greater flexibility in the use of these weapons.

In the last resort I see no escape from armed resistance to aggression. I do not believe that at this stage we are justified in expanding our armaments, either by land or by sea. Our preparedness for the present should consist in the clarification of our objectives as a democracy. If we stress military preparedness now we risk militarism; if we enact dictatorial mobilization laws we shall have fascism at the outbreak of any war, and the battle will be lost before it begins. A war referendum would be a mockery of the democratic process. The time to democratize war is before it begins. If we cannot do that I see no hope for us or for the world.

CARL BECKER

Professor of History at Cornell University

Any clear-cut distinction between a policy of "isolation" and a policy of "cooperation" seems to me illusory, since the words have no precise meaning apart from particular measures. If isolation means only that we should avoid war unless we are obviously attacked by another country, then I am for it. At present, the notion that we are or may be in danger of such attack by any country seems to me preposterous. A larger navy or army is more likely to get us in a war than to keep us out of it.

I do not think there will be, in the near future, a European war involving Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. If there should be one, the consequences to us would be almost equally disastrous whether we went in or kept out. Nevertheless, I am in favor of keeping out. The place to save democracy is at home. If we can put our people to work, democracy will be safe enough here, and we can't save it in Europe by fighting for it there.

We should cooperate with all other governments, so far as possible, for establishing friendly relations in economic and political life, and for the peacable settlement of disputes. Since at present the democratic countries are more disposed than others to cooperate for the preservation of peace, we should cooperate especially with them, employing all means which have a reasonable chance of success and are not likely to involve us in war. Embargo was employed against Italy without involving the countries employing it in war, but also without achieving the object in view. Employed to compel a government to desist from acts defined as aggressive, embargo is in effect an attempt to exert superior force without fighting. Employed by all countries against one, it might be effective. In any situation I can foresee, it would probably be without effect, or else with the effect of precipitating another war.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Professor of Political Economy at Chicago University

The series of aggressive acts by Italy, Germany, and Japan has thus far been successful because there has been no unity among the so-called democratic nations. They have permitted the fascist powers to take the democracies one by one and break them. Czechoslovakia will in all probability be the next. If France and Great Britain will oppose such action by force, I believe we should back them up by (a) withholding supplies from the aggressor nations, and (b) furnishing supplies to the nation attacked (Czechoslovakia) and to those defending it.

There are, of course, risks in any such policy. It might lead us into the collective use of force to maintain peace, with all the danger to civil liberties which that might entail. But in view of the great economic strength of the democracies, I do not see why this is inevitable. Faced by a strong group, the fascists are likely to back down. The dangers of our *not* taking such collective action to protect peace seem to me to be greater. For if we refuse to move, Great Britain is likely to wash her hands of any responsibility, and the fascists will take over all of Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries. Then they will extinguish France, as Hitler has threatened in "Mein Kampf." All this will strengthen the fascist groups in our own country and send virtually all of Latin America into the fascist camp.

We cannot afford to let fascism be victorious in any further acts of aggression, and therefore I favor using our economic strength to restrain the aggressors and protect the attacked. We ought not merely to wring our hands while crying that it is none of our business.

CHARLES E. CLARK

Dean of the Yale Law School

As a basis for such immediate decisions as this country may be forced to make, I favor support of the policy of isolation rather than that of collective security. But I am disposed to consider such a choice tentative and provisional at best. I am not at all sanguine that any policy will insure complete and continuous safety for our country, but fear that nonparticipation in a general European war, should that occur, will be for us at best difficult, and in fact impossible if such a war is at all protracted. Hence my judgment is that decisions must be based on pragmatic considerations of the time of their making, with the objective of feeling our way along so as to avoid disaster just as far and as long as we can.

I do not object to collective security as such. After the World War I had some hope that the League of Nations might prove a workable device toward a measure of world peace. But at present I see no possibility of effective or safe action for us by way of collective security. In following the policy of isolation for the time being, I see no advantage in increasing the army and navy—unless it be to create work for American workmen, an end probably better attainable with less dangerous means. It seems to me the present Neutrality Act if honestly enforced may afford some help to a policy of restraint and non-aggressiveness. It would strike me as unrealistic, however, to go so far as to assert that we will not trade at all with belligerents and will withdraw all aid to American citizens in countries at war. I do not believe in making threats which we are practically sure not to carry out.

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Jews and the Fate of Poland

BY WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

THIRTY-ONE years ago, when the Russian Empire seemed to be at the height of its power, the reactionary "Real Russian" Party, known as the Black Hundred, sent a memorandum to the Czar's Prime Minister, M. Stolypin, proposing that the Poles, who were then a national minority in Russia, should be segregated in a Polish ghetto just as the Russian Jews were segregated at that time.

In those days the Polish problem was one of the most troublesome questions of Europe. The partition of Poland hung like a cloud over the liberal nineteenth century. An act which in our fascist era would be considered a matter of practical politics did not let decent people of a more liberal age rest. Every liberal newspaper thundered against the wrong done Poland; every progressive and revolutionary social movement had a plank in its program advocating the restoration of Polish independence. The cumulative effect of democratic public opinion on the question often made the Czar's government uncomfortable. Hence the bright idea of the "Real Russians" to solve the problem somewhat as the problem of the Jews had been "solved," by means of a ghetto. Fortunately even the czarist regime in its decay had enough wit to realize that a new ghetto would not be any better solution than the old one had been for a similar problem, and the proposal was never carried out. It is recalled only as an interesting historical item.

Poland is no longer divided among the nations. As a result of the Great War the wrong of 1790 has been rectified. Poland is no longer politically mutilated and oppressed. It is a great state, with not only its own territory restored but that of other nations added to it, with sovereignty not only over its own people but over ten million people of other nationalities. No other state gained so much from the war as the Poles.

And yet such is the irony of history that this people—which has known nationalistic oppression more than others, which for over a hundred years filled the world with the tale of its woes and with appeals for justice—now that justice has been given to it, has turned into the worst oppressor of the post-war period and is treating its own national minorities with a cruelty greater than that shown by the czarist regime. The ghetto which the "Real Russians" only proposed and the Czar's government did *not* introduce for the Poles, the Polish Nationalists are now demanding for the Jews, and the government has actually started to introduce it.

It is characteristic of the Polish Nationalists that they have chosen to introduce the ghetto first in, of all places, the universities and other higher schools of learning. Their ultimate aim is, of course, to segregate the Jews from the Poles in every walk of social, cultural, and economic life, in railways, theaters, cinemas, concert halls, cafes, and restaurants, in the professions, in business enterprises, and in residence districts. Nor is this a theoretic program only. Already there are hundreds of ghetto markets in Poland where Jewish traders and stallkeepers are separated from the Poles; already in certain cities Jewish coachmen and taxi drivers are segregated in stands and zones of their own; already nationalistic Polish lawyers demand separate benches in the courts for their Jewish colleagues; and nationalistic doctors demand similar segregation for Jewish doctors. In some places even Jewish porters are made to wear special badges announcing that they are not members of that new aristocracy of the human species, the Polish race.

But all this is as yet not legal or official. The government does not discourage this activity "so long as it is not accompanied by acts of violence," but neither does it sanction it. It has remained for the higher schools of learning to take the first step in making this abomination legal and compulsory. With the consent of the Ministry of Education the rectors of the Polish universities have recently officially introduced the ghetto. Jewish students are segregated from their non-Jewish colleagues and obliged to sit on special benches. If they refuse, as they invariably do, to submit to this humiliation and prefer to stand, they are brutally beaten by the Nationalist students and forced to sit on the seats assigned to them, or they are expelled from the schools by the administration.

To the credit of the Polish people it must be said that not all sections of it have approved or even acquiesced in this return to the medieval principle. Polish labor and the democratic Polish intelligentsia have raised protests. And a number of the leading Polish professors and scientists have openly revolted against the official order of the rectors. Like all Slavs, the Poles have a strong moral sense, which is capable, when aroused, of producing marvels of social heroism and courage. Nothing in the social history of the new republic has evoked such a spontaneous revolt and produced so many dramatic acts of true nobility reminiscent of the old revolutionary Poland as has this latest abomination of the Nationalists.

Noteworthy, for instance, is the courageous stand of the doyen of the medical faculty of the University of Warsaw, Professor M. Michalovicz, a veteran of Polish science and a personal friend of the late Marshal Pilsudski, who on the first day of the ghetto system announced that in his lecture-room he would never allow that relic of medievalism to be introduced and that he would never lecture to a class divided into Jews and non-Jews. He has since been attacked by every Nationalist newspaper in Poland; he has been blackmailed and threatened with lynching; but he has remained true to

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his principle. In his lecture-room there is no ghetto.

Professor Katarbinsky of the philosophy department of the same university has become known as the "standing professor" because he insists on lecturing standing up as long as his Jewish students are not allowed to sit like equals with the others but are obliged to stand. Again and again he has been asked by his students, Jewish and non-Jewish, to give up his unique protest, which is a considerable hardship for him, a man of advanced age, but he continues to lecture standing "for moral reasons," as he puts it.

Professor Czyczevicz, after reading out to his students the rector's order introducing the ghetto, said: "Gentlemen, all this is official, and I was obliged to read it to you. But unofficially I want to tell you that as a scientist and as a Pole I consider the introduction of the ghetto benches a return to medievalism and a shame to Polish culture." When they began to move the belongings of the Jewish students of his class into the new ghetto, Professor Theodore Miller of the Warsaw Commercial College called out that they should move also the crucifix, "for Christ, too, belongs in the ghetto." For this remark Professor Miller, a younger and less prominent man than Professors Michalovicz, Katarbinsky, and Czyczevicz, was immediately dismissed from his position without notice and without a pension.

Nor are the professors alone in making dramatic protests. All the democratic members of the student body have risen spontaneously against the measure. In most of the schools Polish democratic and Socialist students have announced that they will sit with their Jewish colleagues in the ghetto. Many of them stand with the Jews in sympathetic protest, even if this involves them in daily fights with the Nationalist students.

The most hopeful part of this great protest movement is that it is not confined to the academic world. It is long since the Polish liberal press has shown so much courage and revealed so much of its pre-war liberal idealism as it does now. Polish labor, too, has joined the great revolt. During the general strike which the Polish Jews recently called in protest against the introduction of the ghetto, Polish workers everywhere joined their Jewish comrades. Often they go out into the streets to help the Jews fight the hooligans who invade the Jewish quarter to stage a pogrom. A hopeful aspect of the situation is that the relationship between Polish and Jewish workers has not been better for almost a generation. Never before has the Polish Socialist Party (the P. P. S.) worked so harmoniously with the Jewish Labor Party (the Bund) against anti-Semitism. The Polish labor press is no less vigorous and courageous than the liberal press in protesting against the ghetto.

But with all this the government, although not outspokenly Nationalist, unofficially supports the Nationalist Party and does not revoke the ghetto order. Acts are committed daily which make one doubt whether Poland is in Europe. A band of Nationalist students breaks into the operating room of Warsaw University just as an operation on a child is to be performed. The little patient is on the operating table; the anaesthetic has been administered; the surgeon has put on his mask in preparation for the operation. That is the moment the "Endeks" choose to break in and beat up the surgeon, Dr. Altman, a Jewish assistant of Professor Michalovicz, for his chief's stand against the ghetto. A motor car filled with Endeks drives into a crowd of Jewish spectators, mostly women and children, at a labor demonstration. The Endeks open fire, killing a child of five and wounding four others. Incendiary bombs are thrown into crowded Jewish tenements at night when the people are asleep. In one month there were 3 major and 79 minor pogroms against Jews in various parts of Poland. In these, 220 Jews were severely wounded and 280 more were treated in hospitals or as out-patients; hundreds of Jewish enterprises were demolished and their owners ruined. Nor was this an exceptional month. For the last two years the Jews have suffered almost incessant physical assaults and pogroms.

This outburst of anti-Semitic bestiality has no equal in Europe, not even in Nazi Germany, where despite the vicious propaganda of the *Stürmer* and the cruel anti-Jewish decrees of the regime, the people have not degraded themselves by a single anti-Jewish pogrom. One is bewildered by its violence, at a loss to find the source of such cruelty on the part of a people which less than twenty years ago was itself a victim of the worst persecution and humiliation. Poland, it is true, has a difficult and grievous Jewish problem, but it is not the cause of the present outburst. Seventy-six per cent of the Polish population consists of peasants, most of them on the point of starvation; yet the Polish peasantry as a whole is not anti-Jewish. In most of the villages when the Nationalist agitators come to organize pogroms they meet with the resistance of the peasants. The peasants insist on trading with Jews even in the ghetto markets. The Polish workers, the worst-paid in Europe, are not anti-Semitic. Even the Polish intelligentsia and academic youth have no real grievance which could provoke such barbarism. For the number of Jewish students in the universities and the number of Jewish professional men are strictly regulated in Poland by a percentage quota which never exceeds and often is much smaller than the percentage of Jews in the country. The population of Warsaw is more than 30 per cent Jewish, but there are only 2,300 Jewish students in all the universities and colleges to more than 15,000 Poles. In the provincial schools the percentage of Jews is much smaller. Even the conservative press admits that the number of Jewish students in the universities is not an adequate reason for the introduction of the ghetto. In the city of Lublin the college had only three Jewish students, and yet these three were placed in a ghetto. What is behind the desire to inflict such cruel, senseless humiliation? What is the purpose of all this lawlessness and brutality?

One comes to the conclusion that the answer to this question cannot be found within the narrow confines of the Jewish problem, but must be sought in other fields. Since the World War anti-Semitism in Poland, as in other countries, is but a thermometer registering the temperature of society as a whole and not only of the

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particular groups in relationship with the Jews. The Jew-hatred of the Polish Nationalists, genuine and strong as it is, is nevertheless but a mask under which are hidden other feelings, ambitions, plans, and movements, flowing from other than anti-Jewish sources and going far afield. The forces of extreme nationalism and reaction, always strong in Poland, have grown in power since the death of Marshal Pilsudski. They control the army. The government does their will, though it is not entirely and officially their tool, and though they have not yet succeeded in suppressing every other social force in the country. To do this, and to establish a totalitarian dictatorship without even a pretense of democracy, is the goal toward which they are forging full speed.

For the attainment of this ambition anti-Semitism has been and is their greatest weapon. Poland inherited from czarist Russia its complicated and painful Jewish problem; it has taken over from Nazi Germany an anti-Semitism which is almost morbid in its manifestations among the middle classes. The Nationalists exploit this strong anti-Jewish feeling to attain their larger ambitions. Their campaign of terror, directed ostensibly against the Jews, in reality accomplishes other purposes: it seriously embarrasses the government; it undermines the morale of the people; it creates a mood of anarchy in the country and a feeling that only the strong hand of the Nationalists can bring peace and order. This is a common device of fascism. It was used successfully by the Nazis in Germany, and the Polish Nationalists are brazenly imitating them.

It may sound strange abroad, but in Poland it is a generally accepted truth that the present anti-Jewish drive, with all its terror, barbarism, and revival of medievalism, is directed more against Polish democracy than against the Jews. Polish democrats, liberals, and Socialists are well aware of this. They understand the tactics and the aims of the Nationalists. They know that the introduction of the ghetto is a danger not only to the Jews but to themselves and to their country. That knowledge is behind their present opposition to the Nationalists' campaign. The fate of Poland, as well as of the Polish Jews, depends on their revolt. If it fails, Poland will be heading toward a greater catastrophe than a second partition.

Hollywood Is a Union Town

BY MORTON THOMPSON

Culver City, California, March 14

HOLLYWOOD is a union town. Its actors are union men. Its pickets are union pickets. Its scabs are mobbed with union thoroughness and dispatch. Its stars are as labor conscious as its carpenters. And the stronghold of unionism in Hollywood is the Screen Actors' Guild.

Five years ago a gag about a Hollywood actor being a union man would have been good for a ripple of horror in Hollywood's drawing-rooms and for a derisive laugh along the embattled labor fronts of Eastern and Midwestern America. Stars were artists. Featured players were artists. The least conspicuous extra was an artist. The hem of Hollywood's epicene skirt was lifted gingerly and superciliously as Hollywood walked over the mud puddles of its labor problems.

But Hollywood is a town where the least likely things happen. The incredible has now become commonplace. The Screen Actors' Guild rules the roost. It is probably on its way to becoming the richest and most powerful labor union in America. The stars have stepped down into the ranks to fight for the extras, the bit players, the masses. Their victories have been crushing and complete. What the S. A. G. dictates, the producers do. The result has been a startling betterment of working conditions, somewhat increased pay, and the discovery that the iron heel of the studios is still a heel, but that it is not iron and that it is not, in fact, any more impressive than any other heel.

The Screen Actors' Guild really started in 1929. It started with a strike. Most Hollywood actors belonged to Equity. Equity called a strike. It wanted better working conditions than the producers were willing to grant. Equity wasn't daring enough. It told its Hollywood members who had contracts to refuse to sign new contracts. It told members with pending contracts to refuse to sign. It told members without contracts not to go to work. The brunt of the blow fell, of course, on the little fellow, the chap without a contract. The strike collapsed in twelve weeks without having accomplished much more than keeping a few hundred actors out of work.

In March of 1930 the producers, a little worried by the abortive Equity affair, decided to organize the actors in their own way. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences was thrust forward as an arbitration board. Actors got a few assurances that conditions would be bettered and a method of lodging complaints, in return for a signed agreement not to strike for five years. Most of the actors signed.

In 1932 the Eastern banks began to send out efficiency experts to stop money wastage at the studios in which they had investments. They couldn't do much about actors with contracts, but they slashed terms for pending contracts, and by one ingenious dodge after another proceeded to snip almost in half the salaries of many a free-lance player. There were other grievances. California state labor laws stipulate that women may not work longer than sixteen hours a day. But it was pretty general

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knowledge that the major studios were able to control the state labor bureau. Chorus girls were worked twenty-four hours straight. Extras were kept shivering in the rain for endless hours. Stunt men risked their necks; and when they broke them the studios wouldn't pay the repair bills. Actors had no place to go to complain. True, they had the Academy established by the producers. But they were afraid to go there. They were afraid they might become known as trouble-makers and be put on the studios' famous black list. As a matter of fact, almost all who did appeal to the Academy received unfailing courtesy and fair treatment. Nine out of ten of the cases brought before the Academy were decided in favor of the actors. But not many brought cases.

While Hollywood's famous parties raged, little coteries of sober-minded actors conferred furtively. Their deliberations were dangerous. Any hint of them, reaching the ear of a producer, unquestionably would have meant the black list—bad pictures, bad roles, joblessness. The studios had a bland one-for-all and all-for-one policy by which unruly actors were disciplined by universally shut doors. But out of these deliberations was born the S. A. G. The original members deserve mention. They included Alan Mowbray, Ralph Morgan, Kenneth Thomson, Alden Gay, Morgan Wallace, Leon Ames, James and Lucille Gleason, Bradley Page, Claude King, Ivan Simpson, Boris Karloff, Richard Tucker, Reginald Mason, Arthur Vinton, Clay Clement, Charles Starrett, C. Aubrey Smith, Willard Robertson, Tyler Brooke, and Noel Madison. At first they fared rather badly. Many persons asked to join were shocked at the thought of joining a labor movement. Then 1933 came along. That was the year in which the studios, pleading poverty, cut the salaries of every actor in Hollywood squarely in half on the plea that the cut would avert tremendous lay-offs. When the cut was accomplished, the studios proceeded to effect drastic lay-offs anyway. And virtually every studio in Hollywood declared bonuses that same year. This was a little too much even for blithe actors. In June the S. A. G. was quietly incorporated. In July it invited every actor in Hollywood to a big mass-meeting. Only a few turned out. It got sixty members. The big shots wouldn't come in. Most of the stars were still members of the Academy. Then the NRA motion-picture code was adopted, and the Academy promptly assumed the right to represent the actors.

The producers now made a code of their own, which consisted mainly of an agreement not to bid competitively for talent. A $10,000 fine was established as a penalty for competitive bidding. It was this competitive-bidding agreement that smoked out the big names. A meeting was called at Frank Morgan's house. The Marx brothers and Charlie Butterworth spent the entire day calling every actor and actress in Hollywood. The newly founded S. A. G., shaky and pitifully small, was invited along with the rest. One of the big shots made a small speech. The gist of it was that the group gathered at Morgan's should hire someone like Arthur Garfield Hays to go to Washington as their representative. There was a considering silence. Eddie Cantor stood up. "I've apparently come here," he said, "under a misconception. If this organization isn't one that's going to help every man, woman, and child in the industry, I'll say good night!" He didn't have to say good night. Some of them sheepishly, some of them angrily, every star and featured player in the room fell in with Cantor's demand.

The S. A. G. unit was asked to stand up and give its views on the situation. Its proposals, explained by Ralph Morgan, its first president, were so sound and its organization so ready for use that the meeting resolved to join the group, reorganize it, elect new officers, and proceed under the S. A. G. banner. Unionism had invaded Hollywood. The battle had begun. When it became known that the stars were joining the group, the membership jumped in three weeks from 81 to 4,000.

Almost immediately the new union sent its famous two-thousand-word telegram to President Roosevelt, who countered by inviting Eddie Cantor to Warm Springs. As a result, the actors won every point on which they had attacked the producers' code and the suggestions made by the producer-managed Academy for an actors' code.

Next the problem of extras was tackled—the most serious problem before the union today. In 1934 the Senior Guild voted the creation of a Junior Guild, to be composed of extras and bit players, and to give it its own council and governing board. The demands of the Junior Guild are made known to the Senior Guild, which then decides whether to give them its support. Overwhelmingly the Seniors have sustained all demands of the Juniors.

The abuses heaped on bit players, extras, and stunt men had always been great. They were the victims of a stupid and lazy system which originated at Central Casting, a bureau where the name and qualifications of every extra in Hollywood are filed. Rank favoritism still flourishes at Central Casting—the same extras can be seen in picture after picture—but the extras are no longer helpless. They have bargaining power now. In the old days, when a studio called Central Casting and asked for 400 roller skaters, the lazy wretch who took the call refused to go to the trouble of digging 400 roller skaters out of the files. Instead, he drove down to a roller-skating rink, lined up 400 skaters at random, and sent them off to the studio. They were paid a top of $10 a day for their work. And they kept 400 legitimate extras out of work. That wasn't the worst of it, though. Those 400, a studio pay check hot in their hands, began to ask one another: "How long has *this* been going on? Let's be regular extras! Let's get in on some of this gravy!" And they became extras, thousands of them.

Now the studios rarely spend more than two and a half million dollars a year for extras. And the S. A. G. suddenly discovered that there were 23,000 extras in Hollywood. If the work had been spread out evenly, an extra could have earned only $109 a year! Perhaps 5,000 extras could make a living wage—if there were only 5,000 extras. Today by imposing dues the S. A. G. has cut down the Junior Guild population to 6,600, and of that number 500 are dancers and 800 are bit players. If an extra doesn't belong to the S. A. G. he can't get

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work in Hollywood. And he doesn't belong if he can't pay his dues, which are $18 a year in addition to an initiation fee of $25. Two weeks ago the membership books were closed. The Junior Guild asked that dues be high; it asked that its membership list be closed.

In 1934 the S. A. G. affiliated with the A. F. of L. through Equity and the A. A. A. A. From 1935 to 1937 it cemented its relations with labor, mended its fences. In 1937 the producers still wouldn't negotiate with the S. A. G. The Wagner Act was validated. The producers negotiated.

The Painters' Union called a strike. Actors passed through the painters' picket lines and were called scabs. The S. A. G. called a mass-meeting. It was evident that the producers were stalling in negotiations which demanded a guild shop and that the time was ripe for a showdown. The officers informed the meeting that they would bring back a contract signed by the producers in a week or call a strike. Afterward they realized that it was necessary to obtain a 75 per cent vote of the membership before any strike of the Senior Guild could be called. At a meeting held at his house Robert Montgomery opened without preamble: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are here to sign a strike ballot. If you sign, you may be called out on strike. You will strike—if you do strike—on behalf of the extras. We are not asking for any privileges for the Senior Guild." By the end of the week 600 Seniors had voted for the strike and 18 against. The union began to make plans to open coffee houses and restaurants to feed those who would be hard hit. Everyone figured the strike was four days off. The tension was grave.

On Sunday morning Franchot Tone, Kenneth Thomson, Aubrey Blair, and Robert Montgomery went to Louis B. Mayer's house. Joe Schenck was there. The four told Mayer and Schenck flatly that they had to have something in writing to take to the members at a mass-meeting that night or else the strike was on. They interrupted a bridge game. Mayer was a little petulant. Schenck said it was impossible to get all the studio executives together on such short notice. Then he called Harry Cohn, who was playing the races at Agua Caliente. Cohn told him what was good enough for Schenck was good enough for him and got away from the phone in time for the fifth race. Mayer next refused to call in a stenographer. "It's Sunday!" he objected. "I've got 200 guests here!" So Kenneth Thomson wrote the historic surrender in long hand. The terms were guild shop; and Mayer and Schenck signed.

The four went back to Fredric March's house, where the S. A. G. board was waiting. Now that the agreement was signed, they were a little worried about some of the terms. The mass-meeting that night ended their worries. The crowd tore the roof off. In another week the hand-written surrender was reduced to formal legal phraseology and formally signed, sealed. and delivered. Hollywood is a closed-shop town, now. When the Brown Derby's union waiters walked out on strike, actors refused to go through the picket lines.

There is many a Communist in the union, for the S. A. G. doesn't care what a man's politics are so long as he doesn't bring them into the guild. A minority thinks that the Senior Guild "sold out" the extras and disagrees violently with almost everything either the Junior or the Senior Guild proposes. It is a very vocal minority and even a rather welcome one. Its latest proposal, that the Junior Guild be given equal voting powers with the Senior Guild, was voted down by the Juniors, 4,500 to 50.

The guild has obtained almost everything it has asked for. Ninety-nine per cent of all Hollywood actors belong. The battle is now definitely over, though a few minor objectives are still being discussed. Producers are walking the straightest of straight lines. The victories have been victories for the rank and file. For themselves the stars have asked and won next to nothing.

Louis B. Mayer

The important thing is that the highest stars, like the lowest extras, are vigilantly labor conscious. They are anxious to identify themselves with any and all labor movements in behalf of the under-dog. They are lending their names and their talents and their time, with unabating enthusiasm. It would be unfair to single out any individual actor as the greatest contributor. For his personal courage and incisive strategy Robert Montgomery, present president of the S. A. G., has won the respect of the producers and unstinted praise from the union and the public—a public, incidentally, which not so long ago thought of him as a movie playboy. Joan Crawford, second vice-president, has been of invaluable aid in enlisting the support of actresses. Alan Mowbray, when the organization was being planned in secret, financed the embryo S. A. G. with his personal check of $2,500. Kenneth Thomson, executive secretary, has given nearly five years of hard work and health-straining devotion. Ralph Morgan, a member of the board for five years, Chester Morris, third vice-president, Franchot Tone, James Cagney, first vice-president, Boris Karloff, assistant secretary, Noel Madison, treasurer, Murray Kinnell, assistant treasurer, and directors Edward Arnold, Humphrey Bogart, Dudley Digges, Lucille Gleason, Porter Hall, Paul Harvey, Jean Hersholt, Russell Hicks, Frank Morgan, Claude King, Fredric March, Jean Muir, Erin O'Brien-Moore, Irving Pichel, Edward G. Robinson, Edwin Stanley, Gloria Stuart, Warren William, Adolphe Menjou, Robert Young, Dick Powell, Gene Lockhart, and George Murphy are only a partial list of those who might be nominated for a labor Hall of Fame in Hollywood.

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Why Schuschnigg Resisted

WHEN Schuschnigg, Austria's last Chancellor, announced, only a few days after his visit to Hitler at Berchtesgaden, that Austria would hold a plebiscite, when he appeared suddenly to oppose *Anschluss* and the surrender of Austria's independence to the Reich, the whole world asked what foreign power was backing little Austria's last government and would fight for Austria's independence. Today it is clear that Schuschnigg had no such foreign support. Why, then, did he resist Hitler up to the very hour of the German army's invasion?

Those in Austria who are best able to answer this question are prisoners of the Nazis. But the tale is told in certain documents and reports, copies of which were smuggled out of Austria during the last days of the Schuschnigg regime. One of these, now in *The Nation's* possession, reveals the kind of pressure and the influences which compelled the Austrian government to make a last stand against the Nazis. It was no foreign government which promised Schuschnigg support against Hitler after Berchtesgaden but Austria's own industrialists, manufacturers, and landowners. Shocked by the prospect of becoming a part of the Nazi war machine, they made a desperate last-minute effort to save their economic existence.

We are publishing below the major part of a memorandum submitted to Schuschnigg shortly after his return to Berchtesgaden by a group which included the most influential members of the Austrian Association of Industry and Trade (Oesterreichisches Gewerbebund). So impressed was Schuschnigg that he made two of the signers members of his government. These were Julius Raab, president of the association, and Ludwig Stepski-Dolive, president of the Salzburg Chamber of Commerce. The document follows:

While the best possible relations should be established with the Reich, we must defend the independence of Austria. The loss of our independence under present conditions in Germany would be disastrous for us. It would mean the extinction of large sections of Austrian industry, commerce, and the tourist trade. We have been able to reduce the restrictions dealing with foreign currency on account of the increase of exports and of income from abroad, especially from tourists. Our industries are largely dependent on exports. The German currency restrictions would endanger our exports. At the same time we could not expect to be privileged in the matter of distribution of raw materials, which are scarce in Germany. Most of our industries do not belong to those armament industries which are privileged.

The only branches of production which would be greatly benefited are the iron mines and forestry. But the increased production of iron ore and timber would not improve the economic situation of other branches. It is true that exports of timber and ores have fallen because the Reich has not sufficient foreign currency. This obstacle would be overcome by an *Anschluss*. But we cannot expect that the Reich government in Berlin will be able and willing to grant us more foreign currency or raw materials or subsidies as compensation for our increased delivery of ores and timber.

We should not forget that many Austrian industrial plants depend on supplies of iron and steel at prices which make competition on the world market possible to the manufacturers. Our country is in possession of iron mines with relatively low cost of production. Iron and steel mills are near those mines, and many industrial plants were established on account of the cheap supply of iron and steel. We were opposed to attempts of the Stahlverein to close iron and steel mills which the Stahlverein controls in our country. We were and still are opposed to being subjected to the control of the German cartels and syndicates in the matter of iron and steel prices. Our machine industries will not be able to compete with German industries if we have to buy iron and steel from the Ruhr mills. The present scarcity of iron and steel has resulted in prosperity for iron and steel works in Austria. But we do not know how long the armaments boom will last and whether under present conditions we shall be supplied with sufficient iron and steel if we are subjected to the decisions of the Reich. Anyway we shall experience an immediate rise of iron and steel prices in the event of an *Anschluss*. We shall have to pay the German internal price, which always is considerably higher than the world market price or the price we have been paying.

Through great sacrifices our country was able to maintain the stability of the schilling and to avoid any inflationary policy. This is best demonstrated by the fact that many German firms and individuals have tried to transfer their capital funds from the Reich to Austria. The international value of the schilling has increased, while the international value of the mark has declined. It has become easier to procure foreign currency in Austria. Restrictions dealing with foreign currency were reduced in Austria, while the Reichsbank had to introduce even severer restrictions.

This is a factor of major importance to us. More than any other country, we are dependent on a free exchange of currencies in order to develop our business with our neighboring countries, especially in Southeastern Europe. The future of the mark is very doubtful. All impartial observers in Germany agree that the Reich has experienced an inflationary increase of state credits during the last five years and that the consequences of that policy will be very serious. It is inevitable that the Reichsbank will have to obtain a still stricter control of foreign currency and to continue the strangulation of imports. We on the other hand have avoided an inflationary increase of credits or of money issues. At the same time the commercial *Debitoren* of our banks have not decreased. In spite of the fact that we have avoided inflation or devaluation, we have been able to increase production, to replace the diminished exports to Germany by increased exports to other countries. . . .

A comparison of the development of the foreign trade of Austria and of the Reich shows that economic conditions are much sounder in our country than in the Reich. From 1933 until 1936 German exports fell 2.1 per cent in spite

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of the rise of world market prices. During the same period Austrian exports increased 20.3 per cent. From 1933 until 1936 the Reich's share in world exports declined 8.3 per cent; Austria's share, however, increased more than 10 per cent. We sincerely hope that we can obtain further concessions for our industrial exports from our neighbor states, especially from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but also from Poland and Rumania. We are convinced that current negotiations will result in an improvement of our export position. This would be impossible in case of an *Anschluss*. . . .

Our agriculture will also suffer heavily by a fusion with the present economy of the Reich. Our agrarian producers are largely dependent on imports of fodder in order to produce more agricultural "finished products." About half of our wheat and almost a quarter of our fodder has to be imported from abroad. We know very well what happened to the agricultural producers of southern Germany, who are also largely dependent on buying fodder. Prices for fodder as well as prices for agricultural machines, etc., have risen while the prices for agricultural finished products have been "stabilized" by state decrees. In Germany cheap foreign fodder has been replaced by expensive "home-made" fodder, which greatly improved the position of the agrarian population of eastern Prussia and Pomerania at the expense of southern Germany.

As a part of the Reich we should be compelled to buy industrial goods in Germany. At present we are able to take advantage of international competition. It is well known that in Germany prices for most industrial articles have risen considerably, while the quality has declined. German exporters have to sell their goods at cheaper prices than are obtained in Germany. . . . Loss of independence would mean that we would have to pay 30 to 50 per cent more than before for a German manufactured article of inferior quality, while the Reich would not allow us to raise the prices of products which it would import from our country in greater quantities. This would prove fatal for our foreign trade. Our recent experiences in foreign trade with the Reich should be a warning to us.

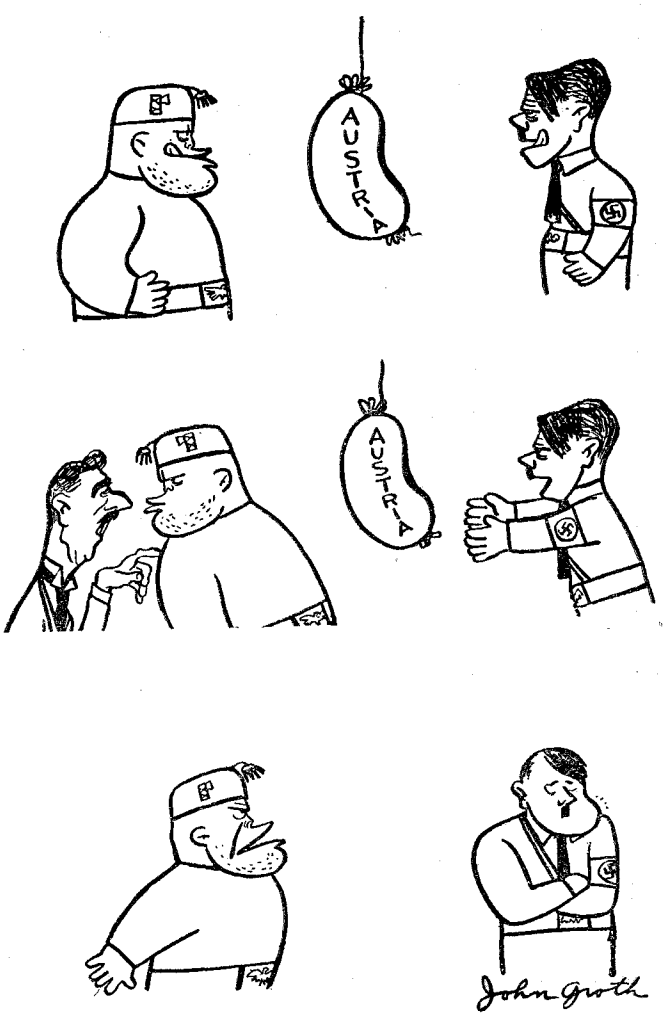
The Reich wants us to sell to Germany, paying us only in marks which we cannot utilize outside Germany. We prefer to sell less and to obtain payment in money the value of which we know. . . . The Reich at present owes us a balance of over 60 million schillings according to the "clearing" system, and we do not know how and when it will pay its debts. We therefore have to reduce our exports to Germany.

Our industry is dependent on an unrestricted supply of foreign raw materials like cotton, wool, copper, etc. These raw materials are very scarce in Germany. According to the Institut für Konjunkturforschung in Berlin the demand for raw materials for German industries in 1937 was 18 per cent greater than in 1928; import of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods (*Halbfertigwaren*), however, was 13 per cent less than in 1929. From 1934 until 1937 the Reich's demand for raw materials rose more than 42 per cent. Imports of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, however, declined more than 11 per cent during the same period. *Anschluss* would mean an immediate rise of prices for raw materials and greatly inadequate supplies. We should have to utilize expensive *Ersatz* and destroy the basis for our foreign trade. . . .

The Reich cannot continue the financing of armaments without risking a collapse of its internal currency. Under such conditions the future of German industries which cannot obtain state privileges and which are not regarded as especially important in case of war will experience a greater economic strain and eventual decay. When, on the other hand, a new international stabilization of currencies is arranged, we shall be in a better position than the Reich. The Reich will then have to strangle credits and will experience great economic difficulties. We, however, are not compelled to strangle credits, because we did not have an inflationary expansion of credits. We have a much larger gold reserve than the Reich. The prospects for a further increase of exports are good. Only an independent Austria will make possible the survival of our industries and trade if a new international economic crisis occurs.

We do not want to become dependent on the bureaucratic headquarters of numerous state organizations in Berlin (controlling distribution of raw materials, of foreign currency, of state orders, prices, etc.). We do not want to be compelled to send our managers and representatives to Berlin to ask for raw materials and foreign currency which we need. We shall not be able to exert as strong pressure on the Prussian state bureaucracy as can the large trusts of western and central Germany. Under present conditions the Reich has not sufficient legal means to protect our industrial interests.

Most of our industries and handicrafts are doomed to ruin if we lose our independence and become *gleichgeschaltet* [coordinated]. There is not the slightest prospect of improvement of the economic situation of Germany in the near future. On the contrary, greater economic difficulties will compel the Reich government and the Reichsbank to finance the new armament works and those industries which are essential from the standpoint of the army, to the detriment



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of all other branches of production. If we do not defend our independence, the Reichsbank will take our gold reserves. The Reich will take our timber and ores. We shall lose the right to bargain with Poland and Czechoslovakia and other countries for commercial treaties which improve our exporting position because we shall no longer have the right to offer them concessions. We shall have to buy only the coal of the Ruhr and lose our customers for our manufactured goods. . . .

The statistical surveys [these accompanied the memorandum] show how fatal a surrender to the Reich would be to our industrial life. We therefore urge the government to continue uncompromisingly the defense of Austria's independence.

Resolutions and letters along similar lines were sent by several other industrialist and handicraft organizations. They furnish the key to Schuschnigg's surprisingly stubborn resistance—and to the necessity of Hitler's using military power to effect the *Anschluss.*

Columnists on Parade

V. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

SINCLAIR LEWIS is reported to have said that he hoped Dorothy Thompson might be elected President so that he could write "My Day." Eleanor Roosevelt doesn't write that kind of diary, but she and her newspaper column could exist only in the land of Main Street. Queen Mary, her nearest counterpart, may chuck babies under the chin and hit battleships over the bow; she does *not* write a column every day relating what goes on in the British White House as if it were the most average household in the empire—and file it at the nearest telegraph office.

Eleanor Roosevelt is the First Lady of Main Street, which runs through New York and Seattle, from Amarillo, Texas, to the very door of the White House. She travels—and how she travels*—the U. S. 1 of middle-class psychology, and she combines in her person all those qualities that please and flatter it most. She writes as she travels, whether it be on a train or in a car in a Presidential procession. She occupies the highest social position in the land. Yet she makes friends on plane or train even as you and I. "Only one passenger came through all the way to Seattle. . . . She is Mrs. Hodges of Council Bluffs. . . . I soon felt she was almost an old friend." And don't think Mrs. Hodges and Council Bluffs are not pleased to be mentioned. Likewise "my country friend Mrs. Hamm, who has a marvelous roadside stand on the Albany post road." She entertains simple unknown people at the White House—between state functions at which foreign diplomats and domestic celebrities pass in review. She does everything that ordinary Americans do—drives her own car, rides horseback, uses a typewriter, knits out of a bag, and hovers over grandchildren who catch colds—and talks about it all as simply and confidentially as Mrs. Jones of South Lincoln Street. "I imagine I might have been quite a good housewife," she wrote on January 24, "and done my work day by day and enjoyed it very much. I might have been a fairly adequate farmer's wife, . . ."

She has speed and energy, independence and adaptability, all dear to the hearts of Americans. One of her innumerable correspondents wrote her that he had named a clock after her because it was always on the go. She thinks nothing of suddenly picking up and leaving her White House duties—the dishes can wait—and crossing the continent by plane and train to spend Christmas with a sick daughter. She comes back saying, "I think I know how Ulysses must have felt when he came back from his journeys." But she marvels less at Ulysses than Ulysses would have marveled at her.

The rich, the famous, or the brilliant who acts and talks like the average person has a sure-fire appeal, and Eleanor Roosevelt has a talent for platitudes, as well as a talent for wholehearted participation in the activities of Main Street. They have contributed not a little to the fortunes of her husband. She has assumed a good part of the baby-kissing function that devolves on any American President, and her perennial accounts of PWA and WPA projects in sixty-two papers (circulation 4,034,552) are not to be overlooked. Jim Farley may call more people in more towns by their first names than anyone else on earth, but Eleanor Roosevelt's ubiquitous and simple appearances at American neighborhood gatherings which she afterwards "writes up" in her column have their own effectiveness, and they lack the touch of sordidness that makes all politicians suspect. When Pippa passes who can criticize?

Some people are annoyed by the platitudes that Pippa passes, but even Westbrook Pegler, who doesn't like the Roosevelt tribe, came out for Eleanor in a recent column which indicated that her only rival for his unreserved admiration is Snow White. I suppose "My Day" might possibly be described as an opiate of the people, and it certainly has a touch of Dale Carnegie.

The Lady is undoubtedly an excellent politician in her own right. But all the darts glance off her unassuming armor, and the inveterate social worker interested in the under-dog shows so clearly through the guises of President's wife and newspaper columnist that the most suspicious is disarmed. Eleanor Roosevelt was a society girl

*She covered 60,000 miles in two years.

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before she became interested in public affairs, and her interest has that cast. She grew up in New York City's age of innocence, and there remains a touch of naivete which sometimes makes frankness look like boldness. In her book, "This Is My Story," she shows the self-confidence of the socially secure by talking more freely than another might of skeletons in the family closet—although as the confessed "ugly duckling" in a handsome family she had great personal difficulties to overcome. She learned to be a politician's wife only through experience. Her interest in social problems was a matter of voluntary education. But her social conscience is genuine, as a long and vigorous participation in reform has shown. And now, while she conducts her readers through the intimacies of White House life, she gives them little pointed lectures on social problems.

> I came across an article . . . which I wanted to applaud in various places. [The author] points out in a general way that we parents are responsible when our children grow up with racial or religious prejudices.

She has as many causes as a *Nation* editor. Rural arts, housing, country life, WPA libraries, public health, community centers for Negroes, flood control, the eight-hour day for nurses, safety campaigns, white and black cooperation, education. But they are all sugar-coated with accounts of the dinner for the Supreme Court justices and Cabinet receptions which delight the hearts of people who would scorn her social views if they were presented by a solemn social viewer. Still it is a wonder we have not heard more cries of "propaganda" from the guardians of American liberties and more debates about the propriety of the President's wife making money out of Presidential prerogatives.*

One reason is that "My Day" is so ingeniously constructed. Mrs. Roosevelt's good-will is unquestioned, but no one could have that much good-will. Her simplicity is taken for granted, but no one could be quite as simple as the lady who writes "My Day" and not commit blunders. No person of strong opinions could be so permanently unruffled. Yet in the last two months she has shown no single evidence of annoyance except on March 2 when she indulged at length the common man's resentment toward dramatic critics.

> It was the opening night and all the critics were there [she wrote in her inimitable way]. In the *Times* and *Herald Tribune* yesterday morning the critics give credit to the actors for a good performance but . . . they seem to infer that because this play ["Save Me the Waltz"] does not teach a great lesson or pick any particular people to pieces it is worthless as a play. I am not a highbrow . . . I said in Washington this play was neither stirring nor uplifting, and I still think it gives one a pleasant, entertaining evening . . . it is rather rare that you can find out what kind of play you are going to see by reading any of the criticisms.

In the same column she rapped very gently the critics of her husband's recent literary projects.

As column, "My Day" is unique. It is not the expression of a writer to whom material of any kind is a means to an end. It is a window on the actual day-by-day life of a busy and disinterested human being, and there is no obstruction either of style or motive. Because she is the President's wife Mrs. Roosevelt's activities are invested with glamor; because they are the activities of any ordinary woman with a family, a husband, and many outside interests the glamor is shared by the nameless and the unimportant. To the prisoners of newspapers, where the wars are always raging, "My Day" is like a sunny square where children and aunts and grandmothers go about their trivial but absorbing pursuits and security reigns. In the sense of security it generates lies the deepest appeal of "My Day."

A fan in Clarksdale, Mississippi, writes, "My own day is given a bit of color when I see it reflected in the little intimate, homey experiences of the White House. . . ." A humbler one in Ramer, Tennessee, dared to criticize. "If she were a Mrs. Hitler, Musulina, or Stalin, I'd not say a word of criticism. But she's one of us. I think she could make some improvement. She might advise us on housekeeping. How to make the most soap with the least amount of cracklines—how to cure sore-head on our chix and not kill the chix."

In the beginning "My Day" was successful only because it was the diary of a President's wife. But Eleanor Roosevelt's day will not end with 1940. I predict a third term without opposition.

[*Miss Marshall's article on Walter Lippmann will appear in the issue of April 16.*]

*Mrs. Roosevelt makes as much as or more than the President's salary. It all goes to charitable purposes, and she pays expenses incurred and the income tax on it out of her own funds.

"Here Comes the Milkman"

BY FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

Milk distributors' profits range from 13 to 27 per cent of their costs, with the prices "dictated" by a small group, Governor Lehman and the state legislature were told yesterday in a report by Attorney General John J. Bennett, Jr., of his investigation of the milk industry in this state.—*New York Times.*

"What are you doing, my pretty man?"
"I'm putting some milk in a giant can."

"What will you do with it then, old fel?"
"I'll take it to market and try to sell."

"Who are your folks? Where do they reside?"
"We're upstate dairymen," he replied.

"And who will purchase your lovely milk?"
"Borden and Sheffield and that there ilk."

"What will they do with the milk so nice?"
"They'll sell it o'mornings at a dandy price."

"What will they charge for the milk so wet?"
"Every penny that they can get."

"Why do they charge so much, d'you think?"
"It's something that children must have to drink."

"But isn't the milk business in the red?"
"Not milking the public, sir," he said.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Retrospect

"WHAT I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace but I know how to get it, and they do not." Thus spoke Woodrow Wilson to the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, on November 12, 1917, six months after the United States had entered the World War. Twenty and one-half years have elapsed since he uttered those words. Let us now examine the record and see how time has dealt with Mr. Wilson's proud boast that he knew both how to accomplish peace and achieve his pacific aims, when the pacifists maintained that war cures nothing, ends no evils but only creates more, and reforms nobody.

The objects of the American entry into the World War were:

1. The destruction of German militarism and autocracy.

2. "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace . . ." (Peace Point 3).

3. "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas . . . alike in peace and in war" (Peace Point 2).

4. National armaments "will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety" (Peace Point 4).

5. "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity for autonomous development" (Peace Point 10).

6. "A general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike" (Peace Point 4).

7. "For the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience" (Wilson's war message of April 2, 1917).

This was Mr. Wilson's and the war party's program. Now let us look at the world and see precisely how correct Mr. Wilson was in stating that he knew how to achieve his war aims.

1. No permanent destruction of German militarism was obtained, but there is instead today a more dangerous and aggressive German militarism than ever before, menacing the peace of the world as the Kaiser never did.

2. Economic barriers were not only not removed but were raised to undreamed of heights, plus embargos, quotas, exchange restrictions, and outright prohibition of imports in certain cases. Absolute inequality of trade conditions exists among the nations consenting to the peace.

3. No change whatever was effected with respect to the freedom of the seas; navies everywhere, including our own, are determined in the next war to use unrestricted submarine warfare and to sink ships without warning, precisely as the Germans did.

4. National armaments have been increased to heights never before considered possible. Millions more men are under arms than in 1914. The world's armament bill has risen from five billions in 1931 to twelve to thirteen billions in 1938. The United States is building the largest fleet on the globe.

5. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, "whose place among the nations" Mr. Wilson wished safeguarded and assured, have been split up and Austria has been reduced to a German province by brutal and overpowering force.

6. The "general association of nations" which Mr. Wilson helped to form, known as the League, is hopelessly dead as a political entity. During the rape of Austria it was never even mentioned as a possible means of assuring "political independence and territorial integrity" to that small state. It has lost Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria, will probably lose Spain, and has received the resignation of several South American states. It has been deliberately flouted by the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, who refused to consider its services in the existing crisis.

7. The present status of the "rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience" is easily demonstrable. We have only to look at Spain, China, Ethiopia, and Austria. All of them are victims of the "force, force without stint" which Mr. Wilson knew in 1917 was the right method with which to achieve peace and to lick the enemy into a law-abiding, peaceful, cooperative member of the family of nations. Many pacifists whom I know have today not merely contempt for Woodrow Wilson; they also have a profound conviction of his absolute stupidity in 1917 and of his utter ignorance of the forces with which he was dealing, which made a catspaw of him.

The pity of it all is that many persons in Washington, in and out of the government, really believe that we shall have to repeat the stupidity of Woodrow Wilson in the near future. They want us to go to war with Japan to save our face in the Orient. They believe that we shall have to take on Mussolini and Hitler because, as they frankly say, England and France cannot possibly conquer the dictators without our aid. Which is just another proof of the wisdom and farsightedness of Woodrow Wilson and the sound basis of his contempt for the pacifists.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Japanese Crusade

CHILDREN OF THE RISING SUN. By Willard Price. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

THERE is the spice of first-hand experience in this account of Japan and its drive for empire. The style is easy and entertaining. Factual details are skilfully woven into a fascinating story. There is an apparent balance, neutrality, lack of bias. Unsparing condemnation of the methods and results of Japan's empire-building occurs on many pages. Yet everyone who supports China's efforts to defend itself against a ruthless invasion has a right to be troubled by "Children of the Rising Sun." No such powerful and persuasive plea for Japanese imperialism has ever been presented before to the American public.

The seeming artlessness of the writer strengthens the points which he drives home. Overpopulation and lack of space are not so much argued as exemplified in the life of a Japanese farmer. The artistic qualities of architecture, gardening, and other aspects of Japanese culture are refracted through personal experience. Impressionism rather than scientific analysis predominates—and produces a correspondingly strong emotional effect on the mind of the reader. Much of the book consists of sketches published in various magazines during the past year or two. In such sketches the extreme care used in the selection of details enables many embarrassing facts to be passed over. At certain key points the facts themselves are not scrupulously handled. Admissions made by the author, of the type which Japanese lecturers in this country always fail to make, add verisimilitude to the picture. The reader gains the impression of an immensely powerful and unified Japan, spurred by terrific privations to embark on a legitimate crusade which no force can halt.

A thorough effort to correct the details of the picture thus presented would require many pages; only a few outstanding points can be considered in this review. Take the amazingly effective first chapter, which describes a Japanese farmer at home. Emphasis is solely on the limited space of two acres at the disposal of this farmer. No mention is made of rent, usury, or taxes, or of the tribute levied by the monopoly concerns in the case of such products as fertilizers. The whole nexus of this farmer's societal relationships is omitted; he lives in an economic vacuum. He is pictured raising his samurai sword to the household shrine, as he communes with his ancestors concerning the son killed on China's battlefields. Emotionally effective, but do war and conquest add to the two acres? Aggression has so far merely intensified the exploitation of the Japanese farmer by his own rulers. Is it new conquests or a new deal that he really needs?

The same criticism may be directed at the references to economic problems throughout the chapters dealing with Japan. Natural calamities—earthquakes, floods, tidal waves—also occur in other countries. These are purely external villains. So also is the "giant Status Quo." How much territory does Japan need before it is satisfied? With Manchuria, which it had before the present war started, Japan already possessed a colonial area twice the size of France. When a nation's energy is turned mainly to the production of armaments, the demand for raw materials is unlimited. The essential fact is that the grip of monopolists and landlords, which chokes purchasing power and prevents the growth of an adequate home market, forces Japan's ruling classes to appeal to the sword for external expansion. Exactly the same causes motivated the aggressive expansion of czarist Russia, which had plenty of territory, and eventually led to its doom.

Much might also be said of the chapters on Manchoukuo. The author accepts the Japanese term "bandits" for the armed opposition which continues to exist in Manchuria. Never once does he refer to this opposition by any other term. Now the outstanding feature of the Manchurian countryside is its several thousand "protected villages." Into these virtual concentration camps millions of the Chinese farmers have been herded. All farmhouses outside have been razed to the ground. Inside the villages the inhabitants are registered; those who cannot produce their registry card on demand are shot without ceremony. Why have the Japanese found it necessary to adopt such elaborate precautionary measures? For one reason alone—to isolate the ordinary farmers of Manchuria from the so-called "bandits." This is the measure of the scope of resistance to Japanese rule in Manchoukuo. In his extensive travels through Manchuria Mr. Price must have seen many of these "protected villages." He does not mention them.

Mr. Price speaks of the "swiftly expanding education program of Manchoukuo." He offers no figures. Such data as exist tend to indicate a decline both in the number of schools and of pupils, and this is corroborated by the testimony of foreign residents. Mr. Price also declares that the "education budget is very small but growing rapidly." Again he gives no figures. In this case, it is only necessary to cite the Manchoukuo budget. The sum expended for education was 6,114,268 Manchoukuo yuan (one yuan = c. 28.5 cents) in 1934-35, or 3.24 per cent of the total budget, and 5,697,925 yuan, or 2.2 per cent of the total, in 1937. In other words, Manchoukuo's educational expenditure has declined both in absolute terms and relatively to the total budget.

Even more could be written of the author's chapters on China. Since August, 1937, in the face of drastic military reverses, China has maintained an extraordinary degree of political unity. No Chinese political or military leader of any consequence has enrolled under Japan's banner. There is a notable dearth of material for the puppet regimes Japan is attempting to set up in China. What does Mr. Price have to say of this phenomenon? He writes as follows:

> The journalistic tendency to leap to conclusions on the basis of current events led many admirers of China's progress in unity during 1936 to conclude that General Chiang had at last eliminated the war lords and unified the nation. China herself was tempted to the same conclusion; and felt able to try her strength with Japan, which she did in 1937. It was presently discovered that China's unanimity was not so complete as might have been desired. The pure flame of patriotism sputtered in the conflicting breezes of self-interest. The principles of the "New Life Movement" inculcated by General Chiang and his magnificent wife were not equal to bad habits thousands of years old. While some leaders were self-sacrificing, too many began to think of personal advantages for themselves and their families. China's sudden conversion to singleness of purpose had been too sudden to endure.
>
> China does not change so fast.

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Behind the altar of sacrifice upon which China is suffering are old war lords who still think first of themselves and their kin, secondarily, if at all, of their country.

Theirs is government by whim. Their rule is that of Oriental pashas. A word, and a head comes off. A nod, and a dozen tarnished concubines are replaced by fresh ones. A wave of the opium pipe, and looting soldiers ravage a countryside.

Mr. Price has failed to note some of the changes which are occurring in China's political life. True, Wan Fu-lin, Han Fu-chu, and others of their kind have recently been executed. Unfortunately for Mr. Price's thesis, these are some of the reactionary old Chinese war lords. The progressives are doing the executing. In Japan these things are handled better. There the "patriots" assassinate liberal and progressive statesmen, such as Saito, Hamaguchi, and Takahashi.

Exaggeration and hyperbole characterize many of the author's references to Japanese characteristics or attainments. Such patriotism, such unity, such iron discipline and hardihood, such fighting ability, such *bushido* morality (now somewhat tarnished by what occurred at Nanking), and such a grandiose sweep toward empire as breathes through these pages seem a bit overdrawn. Japan's warships are newer and better than those of other powers; its airplanes are manufactured quite capably at home; great numbers of civilian Japanese pilots are being trained; new breeds of marvelous horses and sheep are rapidly populating eastern Inner Mongolia; in ten years China will grow all the cotton Japan needs. It is all too perfect; the world seems to be one big Japanese oyster. Equally engrossing is the panoramic empire of the future, from which China, the Philippines, Siam, the Netherlands Indies, Australia, and India are not excluded. There is only one factor that the author tends to minimize. This is the possibility of effective Chinese resistance.

T. A. BISSON

Poetry as Sound Track

THE RIVER. By Pare Lorentz. Stackpole Sons. $2.

LAND OF THE FREE. By Archibald MacLeish. Harcourt, Brace and Company $3.

"THE RIVER" is a moving picture reproduced as a book of "stills" with an accompanying narrative. The film, which was produced for the Farm Security Administration, portrays the drama of the spoliation of the Mississippi Valley and offers government planning as a means to restore a country and an economy. It is propaganda become art—one of the most beautiful and dramatic "shorts" ever produced in this country. The book suffers by comparison with the film; the lithographs are not very clear, and the movement of the drama (and of the river) is lost. We cannot see the ground eroded inch by inch, the soil blown off the fields, the floods, and the homeless people struggling with conditions they do not understand. Nevertheless, even as a book "The River" is interesting.

Archibald MacLeish's "Land of the Free" is a book of photographs taken for the most part by artists working for the Resettlement Administration. The pictures are beautifully reproduced and speak for themselves. But MacLeish has so selected and arranged them that they portray the drama of an exploited people who have come to realize how little individual freedom can mean. Slowly they are becoming aware that they are actually enslaved and will be until they understand another kind of freedom, to be gained by men acting together. In the foreground of these pictures are human figures with grim and miserable faces; the background is ruined fields and deforested mountains.

MacLeish has written a poem to serve as a "sound track" for the pictures. Both these collections of photographs have, in other words, what may well be called poetic narratives by way of explanation. Lorentz's simple Whitman-like use of the names of our rivers, our towns, our migratory movements is truly poetic. Such lines as these:

> We built a hundred cities and a thousand towns:
> St. Paul and Minneapolis,
> Davenport and Keokuk,
> Moline and Quincy,
> Cincinnati and St. Louis,
> Omaha and Kansas City . . .
> Across to the Rockies and down from Minnesota,
> Twenty-five hundred miles to New Orleans
> We built a new continent

serve their purpose poetically and dramatically, even better perhaps than do the more artful lines of MacLeish:

> Under our feet and our hands the land leaves us and
> We're not telling them:
> not now,
> not from the
> Worked out cornfields where the soil has left us
> Silent and secret: coloring little streams:
> Riling in yellow runnels after rainfall:
> Dribbling from furrow down into furrow down into
> Fields fallow with winter and on down
> Falling away to the rivers and on down
> Taking the life with it.

As a poem separated from the pictures, MacLeish's verse might seem stronger than Lorentz's lines. As used here it seems contrived; the pictures alone flash the terrible truth. A simpler narrative might have been a better "sound track" for these photographs. MacLeish's poem springs in part from the pictures (as the poet intended), in part from a poet's desire to be poetic—and this is bad. MacLeish's truest art is to be found in the arrangement he has made of a group of pictures which tell a terrible story about our rich and prosperous land.

EDA LOU WALTON

The United Front in Britain

THE POST-WAR HISTORY OF THE BRITISH WORKING CLASSES. By Allen Hutt. Coward-McCann. $2.75.

WAGES AND INCOME IN THE UNITED KINGDOM SINCE 1860. By A. L. Bowley. Cambridge University Press and the Macmillan Company. $2.50.

AS SEEN by Mr. Hutt, the post-war history of the British working classes is a sad chronicle of a militant rank and file held back by timid, vacillating, and sometimes treacherous leadership. Time and again we are given a picture of an aggressive army of labor brought to defeat or retreat by Fabian tactics born of a belief in "the inevitability of gradualness." It is a picture not without truth but one painted far too much in primary colors: the British masses have not been so uniformly red as the author suggests; nor has leadership been so utterly yellow.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hutt, who is one of the foremost Communist intellectuals, has written an extremely readable book and one which should prove valuable if taken as part of a balanced diet. His main objective is to show the need for a united front in Britain, not only as a defense against fascism but in order to make the labor movement more fully effective. His case is a strong one, but it would have been much

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stronger if he had stated and answered the arguments on the other side. It is unrealistic to see in the opposition of the majority of the Labor Party to a united front with the Communists nothing but reaction and blind obduracy.

The British Labor Party is not an exclusive body—its membership ranges from pale pink liberals to those claiming to be redder than Moscow (1938 model)—nor does it impose a severe discipline. It does expect, however, that organizations affiliated to it should not owe a superior allegiance to some third party. Moreover, so long as the final authority for Communists resides in Moscow, they are inevitably somewhat embarrassing allies in the defense of democracy. It is difficult to denounce the farce of Hitler's plebiscites when those with whom you are united are extolling the "perfect democracy" of the Russian elections. It is not easy to convince an audience that the Russian conception of justice has no resemblance to the German one. None the less, there is a genuine case for greater working-class unity in Britain and for more aggressive leadership. It will not be promoted either by ignoring the obstacles or by accusing those who call attention to them of "Trotskyism."

Both Mr. Hutt and the right-wing leaders of whom he is so critical could profitably study the new work by A. L. Bowley, the doyen of British statisticians. This book summarizes and brings up to date the author's life-long researches into wages and incomes. He finds that since 1860 there has been a marked improvement in working-class standards of living, but that progress has at no time been rapid, while in some periods there has been stagnation if not retrogression. The rise which has taken place since 1924, he points out, is due to prices falling more rapidly than wages. But wages are only paid to those in work, and as Professor Bowley observes, the picture is spoiled by the hard core of unemployment in certain districts and industries. Certainly there is nothing in the facts he provides to encourage complacency in labor leaders.

On the other hand, it is hardly accurate to suggest, as Mr. Hutt does, that the standards of the whole working class are sliding downhill. Professor Bowley shows rather the subdivision of the proletariat into two sections, with the upper crust tending to merge with the lower middle classes. Communists, owing to their comparative success in organizing the unemployed, are apt to judge working-class psychology exclusively from the viewpoint of the lower crust and hence to visualize the average trade unionist as more revolutionary than he really is. It is another instance of the way in which Communists reduce their effectiveness by self-imposed blinkers—equipment which when worn by the right wing they correctly deplore.

KEITH HUTCHISON

American Diplomat

THE EDUCATION OF A DIPLOMAT. By Hugh Wilson. With an Introduction by Claude Bowers. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

AMBASSADOR WILSON has given us a delightful little volume, one certain to make every reader eager to meet him and to know the attractive personality he reveals. It has great charm, excellent description, much understanding of men and manners, and a great deal of humor. It covers only the period from the author's entry into the diplomatic service to his return to Berne after our entry into the World War had compelled our embassies to be recalled from Berlin and Vienna—he had only a brief month in Vienna. During

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these years his work was the routine of an underling in the permanent diplomatic service, lacking any great or dramatic moments; yet one hates to lay the volume down, for Mr. Wilson gives life, color, and attractiveness to every anecdote and experience which he relates. For example, his stay in Guatemala fascinated him so that after all these years he is able to convey to the reader the spirit and rare setting of that country.

In this book we have the explanation of Mr. Wilson's great popularity with all the diplomats, journalists, and travelers who have come in contact with him, to say nothing of his superiors, who have been happy to promote him steadily on his merits alone. It explains why even the Nazis spoke well of him when his recent appointment to Berlin was announced. He is obviously entirely without "side," simple, unostentatious, and unpretending, but industrious, tactful, and, above all, devoted to his work and conscious of the responsibility resting upon any American career diplomat. If I were Secretary Hull I should see that a copy of this volume was placed in the hands of every newly appointed member of the service. It would not only increase the novice's eagerness for his career; it would give him the best possible guidance in how to make that career a success. It should certainly convince anyone that even in remote posts one may find a rich and rewarding life if one is prepared to work hard to fit oneself for high office, if one has the ability to be a sympathetic friend to all sorts and kinds of human beings, and if one has a saving sense of humor. That magnificent sense of fun of Mr. Wilson's I recur to because it not only makes his book so delightful but also explains many things.

Mr. Wilson is a very loyal American. He thinks that our diplomatic service is now probably better than any other, which is joyous news to this reviewer, who in his boyhood wanderings around the world thought it the worst—as it indubitably was. Mr. Wilson thrilled with American pride when he first saw the Panama Canal, and so do all of us—when we forget how we "stole it," to use Theodore Roosevelt's confession of guilt, and robbed Colombia by a fake revolution. But his patriotism has not made him narrow and insular. To a remarkable degree he is able to get the other man's point of view, and he has the right to be pleased that he was not swept from his moorings by the propaganda of the first two years of the war. His philosophy is that the world is not all black or all white. He submits cheerfully to the limitations of a diplomat, which make him give up any taking of sides in our domestic politics or problems and keep his opinions to himself. That he has wise thoughts appears from the following quotation of the many one would like to reprint. Writing of the period just before the war, he says:

> At that time I was not violent-minded. In the midst of my friends I was not orthodox, though I became so outwardly when we went to war. But my mind never ceased to question, nor did I ever learn to accept *ex parte* statements by one side as the final verity. To my mind the most revolting thing about war is not the suffering and misery, not the sacrifice of treasure and life; it is the propaganda that war brings, it is the prostitution of truth to policy, the debasing of truth from an abstract absolutism to a commodity to be rationed to a people in diluted doses calculated to make them docile in following a policy. We deplore the lack of honesty in present-day government and business, yet what a precedent of dishonesty we all set a score of years ago in propaganda. We have sown the seeds; we are reaping the harvest.

All of which makes one look forward to the continuation of this charming chronicle. OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Philosophy and Reality

A PHILOSOPHY FOR A MODERN MAN. By H. Levy. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

LEVY'S book is another contribution to philosophy and the theory of science in a language comprehensible to the general public. It possesses, however, one merit far in advance of the popular works of other British scientists, such as Jeans, Eddington, and Russell. This is its social relevance and responsibility. At a time when poverty and unemployment were widespread in England, and people with a social conscience dreamed of utilizing science to usher in a new and more reasonable society, Levy saw such great scientific leaders as Eddington come forward to explain that all was vanity, that unreason lay at the very basis of reality—in the quanta of action and the behavior of electrons. This was for Levy "a bitter moment; but it constituted a challenge which could not be ignored." From this challenge the present book arose.

First of all Levy is a materialist, and he maintains his position consistently, impervious to the lure of the positivism so fashionable today. Matter, in his opinion, is not out of date. "Science establishes the prior existence of matter to mind, prior in time," and therefore "mind is a quality of matter." A materialist in philosophy, Levy is a realist in politics. In his discussion of the emergence of a classless society he shows that certain objective factors and strategies have always been necessary to social change, that passion for justice and freedom does not suffice, that appropriate organization is requisite for freedom. And the philosophy which discountenances wistful Utopias also sweeps aside as scientifically unverifiable all teleologies, all intruding spooks and divinities, even when they show credentials from eminent scientists.

The book, however, is not at all polemical. It is a straightforward exposition of a point of view, beginning with a section on What Men Demand of a Philosophy and concluding with The Unity of Theory and Practice. What men demand is a philosophy which reveals their connection with the rest of the universe, physical and social, which enables them to see the social conditioning of their thought and to participate in the historical process whereby the world is being transformed. Most contemporary philosophers, it must be admitted, do not go far to satisfy this demand, but they can hardly be blamed for this since they regard philosophy as purely noetic and contemplative and do not think it is called upon to change the world. Indeed, there is some truth in Russell's remark that there are only two kinds of philosophy: abstract philosophy detached from all practical concern or effect, and bad philosophy. The only exception for the present period is, in my opinion, the kind of philosophy represented by Levy's book, which integrates the procedures and results of science with the problems of peace and democracy and with the world movement toward socialism.

The basic term which Levy employs to illuminate key problems of philosophy and theory of science is the "isolate," which may be understood as "any part of the universe that is the subject of examination." Thus a fish detached from the water, an apple off the tree, a molecule of H_2O, and Boyle's laws of gases are all isolates at different levels of abstraction, each with distinctive qualities which enable us to recognize it. "Atomic isolates" are individuals isolated from the rest of nature to facilitate study, by experiment for example, of their qualities as isolates. But "probability emphasizes the fact that the isolation is in reality fictitious. Indeed, it is precisely through the so-called 'theory of errors' of experiment

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that allowance is made for the linkage between the supposed isolate and the rest of nature." The statistical isolate, like the pressure of a gas, the morale of a regiment, or the shape of an ocean wave is a *group* of atomic isolates and can in general be analyzed down into them and the qualities relating them, just as any statistical isolate can be viewed as atomic in relation to a higher statistical group. Here the important thing is that the statistical isolates are just as objective, just as much parts of nature, as are the atomic isolates or individuals, and pessimism about our inability to specify the exact behavior of the molecule of a gas or to predict the precise conduct of the individual electron is unjustified in view of the accuracy and usefulness of our statistical knowledge of groups. For knowledge of probabilities is not inexact knowledge, as is so commonly supposed, but simply the best method of measuring certain types of objectively changing qualities.

Whether people travel on the subway may be a matter of their "free will," but the transport authorities can predict the number of passengers, the group isolate, on a given day just as the scientist can predict the behavior of gases. Nevertheless, there is a difference on the human level. The director of a factory may control the product up to the final stage, though in general he has no control of its social use. A concerted strike of the conscious workers may, however, upset his statistical calculation even of output. When this happens we have the beginning of a new phase of statistics, a new level of planning, not in relation to output only but to consumption. It reaches its most advanced stage, according to Levy, in the Soviet Union.

With this novel and somewhat scandalous approach, Levy deals with many of the time-honored problems of philosophy in a manner so deft and entertaining that the casual reader may imagine that he is not reading philosophy at all, but only a kind of higher common sense. Time, history, and causation, which have been lately so much neglected or disparaged, are reinstated as central concepts of science. "The traffic of the universe," Levy contends, "flows in one direction only," and we are left to conclude that Eddington's fears that the reversibility of physical processes threatens the reality of time were due to his obsession with part-processes of nature and his neglect of the stream of history in which they are immersed. There is likewise a long and illuminating section on the relation of quality and quantity in the structures and method of science which is entirely in the spirit of Engels's dialectic, though the illustrations are often drawn from contemporary science and the language is altogether different. The net result shows definite advantages in this dialectical-materialist approach. Mechanism, which tends to limit knowledge to the atomic isolate, and fails to recognize that it is an isolate, is overcome. Gestaltism, which stresses the importance of patterns but neglects their historical, social, and atomic aspect, is superseded. Pragmatism, drawing false support from the innocent fact that men can, in a measure, make their own laws and predictions come true, is left behind.

The book contains, on the other hand, a few questionable passages and one or two which seem clearly mistaken. For instance, in one place Levy identifies thinking with the activity of the brain, a view which probably no materialist in history has ever maintained consistently. Again, in listing the factors determining the level of wages he neglects to point out that the efficiency of American industry entails trained workers and higher wages than need be paid in a backward country like China. In another place he makes the doubtful assumption that conscious planning within capitalism always delays the transition to socialism.

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But these mistakes, though of some importance in themselves, are completely eclipsed by the immense achievement of Levy's book. In the discussion of the dialectical relation of the atomic and statistical isolates, for example, we have a positive contribution to the theory of probability. At the same time it is a remarkable piece of popularization with many illustrations and even amusing drawings to make things clear. It should be read by philosophers and scientists, and by everyone who desires to get his bearings in the present scene.

V. J. MCGILL

DRAMA

The Forsyte Boys in Canada

I HAVE never read any of the highly successful "Jalna" novels by Mazo de la Roche, but the dramatization of "Whiteoaks" (Hudson Theater) is sufficient to convince me that the literary genealogy of the author is clear enough: John Galsworthy begot Hugh Walpole, and Hugh Walpole thereupon begot Miss De la Roche.

"Whiteoaks" is the story of a ramified family very much aware of the fact that it *is* a family and inclined to gravitate toward the ancestral estate in Canada, where a matriarch of one hundred and one still rules. Its members, like the Forsytes, tend to think a good deal either about having money or about not having it as the case may be, and like the Forsytes again they understand perfectly that however enthusiastically they may quarrel with one another they must stand together against everybody else. Moreover, the similarity is not confined to subject matters and themes, for it extends to method and manner as well. True to the Walpole-Galsworthy tradition, Miss De la Roche builds with a solidity which tends to become ponderous and draws character with an insistent explicitness which makes everything too plain at the same time that it is almost too picturesque. Long before the evening is over even the duller spectators will not have failed to learn that the matriarch has an indomitable will, and that while the men folk of the family tend toward extroversion and horses, the youngest grandson is "sensitive." The plot is concerned largely with the question of the matriarch's will, and when she finally dies she surprises everybody except members of the audience by leaving all her money to the "sensitive" grandson.

Ethel Barrymore, complete with the traditional crone's quaver and walking stick, proves that she loves life by rolling the names of cheeses on her tongue and by discoursing upon the beauty of the gleaming lights in a glass of port. The sensitive grandson adopts a sort of Marchbanks quiver and obviously needs the advice given him in the end by one of his hearty brothers. There seems no good reason why he shouldn't buck up now and get the music lessons he has always wanted.

All this is not to say that "Whiteoaks" is not good enough of its kind or that it may not be very popular with the same kind of audience which the "Jalna" novels found. Presumably the people who liked them very much are the people who want a good old-fashioned story with no nonsense, and who dote on flavorsome, unconventional characters provided only that the flavor be of a thoroughly familiar kind and that the unconventional characters are in a well-established

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convention of unconventionality. The polite thing to say would be that it is all a matter of taste, but honest people usually admit they do not really believe there is no more than that to be said in favor of their own. My private opinion is that the most ardent admirers of the Galsworthy-Walpole manner even when it is copied at second or third hand are persons of rather sluggish imagination who do not want to be hurried.

"Prologue to Glory" (Maxine Elliott Theater) is the latest of the WPA productions and was rather warmly received by many of the critics, who seem nowadays determined to give the government enterprise the benefit of every doubt. It is a straightforward, careful, and obviously sincere little play about the youth of Lincoln, and it furnishes a pleasant as well as instructive evening. It is not, however, very striking or very original. One can hardly imagine it finding a place in the commercial theater for the simple reason that its positive merits are nowhere very remarkable.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

Pen Drawings of Luis Quintanilla

AS DID Goya over a hundred years ago, so Luis Quintanilla now crystallizes the tragedy of Spain in a series of pen drawings at the Museum of Modern Art. This work is the result of the artist's first-hand contact with war and its tragic aftermath of human and material destruction. Horror for the sake of horror does not interest Quintanilla; he shows war, not in terms of obvious melodrama, but rather in its relation to the humble folk who, like robots, had no word in bringing it about and who suffer its consequences with the apathy of bewildered animals.

The lack of partisan hate gives the drawings a certain austerity, a quiet that is rather ominous; and it is surprising in a man who for years was one of Spain's most dreaded satirists and an active revolutionary in his personal life. Before the first "bloodless" revolution he gave over his Madrid apartment as a hiding-place for arms. On the night of Alfonso's abdication, before his flight was known, it was Quintanilla who climbed the palace roof and raised the republican flag. Later, during the period of reaction under Lerroux, he was jailed and sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment. When the last fascist rebellion broke out, he was one of the leaders of the militia band that captured the Montana barracks. Since then he has fought in the Guadarrama Mountains, in the trenches before Madrid, and at Teruel.

The drawings, for all their immediacy, show little evidence of the circumstances under which they were executed and lack completely the rapid spontaneity of the pen-and-ink sketch. Although he had turned recently to painting and at the outbreak of the war was working on murals for the Pablo Iglesias monument, now utterly destroyed, Quintanilla was known primarily as an etcher; in the pen drawings this technique is amazingly approximated, although the velvet blacks and the gradations of color so remarkable in the dry-points have given way to a more lithographic quality. Yet no less than the etchings these drawings have an enormously living force, undiminished, oddly enough, by the meticulous technique. Depth and volume are indicated by an infinity of tiny lines upon which the artist must have expended the same time and care as in the cross-hatching of his zinc plates.

Tragic subjects rendered in such a self-conscious and modernistic technique are slightly bewildering at first glance. Attention is deflected from the portrayed object, as such, to the artist's superb feeling for form and to the dynamic organization of many of the designs. Yet the human element predominates. Technical virtuosities are forgotten in the poignant tragedy that envelops friend and enemy alike. Drawings remembered half at random illustrate Quintanilla's curiously impartial eye. The festering body of a Moor sprawls in the cemetery of San Isidro. On an Andalusian hillside a bewildered peasant woman gapes at a low-diving plane. In the caves of Almeria human beings and animals cower from the shells of bombarding warships. Haggard civil guards, exhausted by hunger, surrender on the tragic Sierra Morena hill; there is madness in the eyes of their women; torpid resignation in the face of a mother sitting with a dead baby in her lap.

Other drawings haunt the imagination by their tranquil

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yet macabre horror. Quintanilla's rendering of dead bodies is like something seen in nightmare. In The Retreat of the Moors a swollen-bellied corpse lies in the foreground; behind, like a collapsed wine-skin, another dead man dangles across the branch of a tree. Sometimes even the living seem like specters—moving corpses of what once were children and women and men.

Occasionally, in spite of the absence of Quintanilla's former satire, certain drawings have a note of half-puckish humor. A tough Madrileño postures against the parapet of his trench, with a touch of swaggering chic. A swarthy gipsy fingers his rifle, a flower tucked behind his ear. In a prison camp two Germans, carrying an iron pot between them, march with the military precision of the goose step. There are flashes of the Spanish countryside as well—the barren hills, the whitewashed walls topped by twisted cactus. One feels the sweep of wide-flung valleys and the bleak grandeur of the Castilian plains.

Once again Spain has produced an artist whose interpretations of his people and country shadowed by war can never be forgotten.

RUTH PIELKOVA

RECORDS

ROY HARRIS is everything a significant American composer should be: he was born in America, he loves America, he writes music to express the qualities and spirit of America as these appear to him, and in the present instance he wrote "Symphony for Voices" (Victor: two-record set, $4.50) to texts by Walt Whitman. His only deficiency is that he cannot write the music a significant American composer would write. As a result there is always a wide discrepancy between what he sets out to do and what he actually achieves: a work reads like a great deal in the program notes, but sounds like very little when it is heard. And never has the discrepancy been greater than between the contents of the Victor booklet—Whitman's verses, Harris's comment on them, which may be taken as explaining what he wants to express with his music, and Victor's statement of what the music does express—and on the other hand the portentous tosh sung by the Westminster Choir.

Most of the songs in Lotte Lehmann's second album (Victor: six ten-inch records, $9) are good, and a few—Schubert's "Gretchen am Spinnrade" and "Wiegenlied," Brahms's "Botschaft," Wolf's "Du denkst mit einem Fädchen"—are masterpieces. To these she brings the warmth, the intensity, the imagination, the loveliness of voice that characterize her singing of *Lieder,* and only rarely the faults that are also characteristic: the constriction in high notes, the tendency to get too excited and dramatic. Again Victor does not give the texts that are essential to complete appreciation of the songs; this time there are verbal interpretations by Mme Lehmann of which the less read the better.

To its existing set of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.466 played by Edwin Fischer, Victor adds a new set made by Bruno Walter (four records, $6.50), who conducts and plays the piano with the Vienna Philharmonic. I am all for having as many recordings of a great work as there are great performances; and I believe, for example, that although Victor has recordings of Stokowski's performances of Debussy's "Nuages" and "Fêtes" and "Après-midi d'un faune" it should also record the performances of Toscanini, and above all those of Koussevitzky, which offer the most complete realization of these marvelous works. My objection in the present instance is that Walter's performance has not greatness but only his great name to compel recording (so, for that matter, had Fischer's); and Victor offers a second version of this concerto of Mozart when it has not issued even one version of another and far greater, even if less frequently played, work—the Piano Concerto K.467 recently recorded for H.M.V. by Schnabel, which has a slow movement that is unique even among the extraordinary musical utterances accomplished by Mozart.

On a Victor single ($1.50) is Marian Anderson's extraordinary delivery of Schubert's "Der Tod und das Mädchen," with "Die Forelle" on the reverse side. On another ($2) is Haydn's beautiful Theme and Variations in F minor in a murkily recorded performance that is no better coming from Paderewski than it would be coming from a less illustrious pianist. And on still another ($1.50) Stokowski shows that he can make as awful a hash of a Chopin Mazurka as of a Moussorgsky opera.

B. H. HAGGIN

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